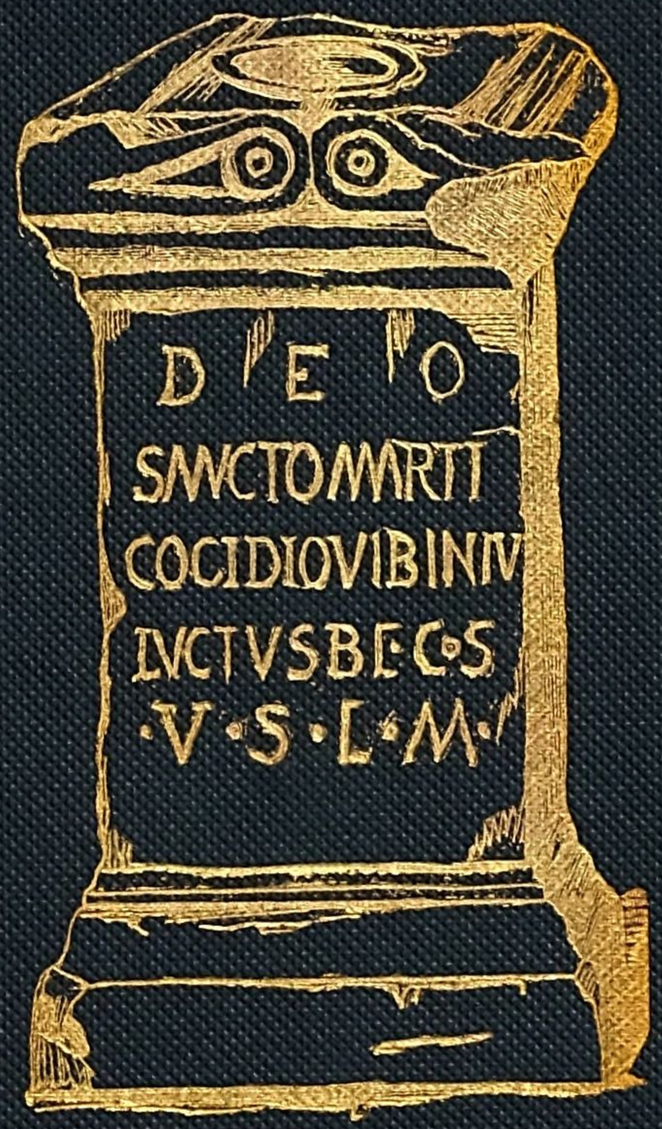

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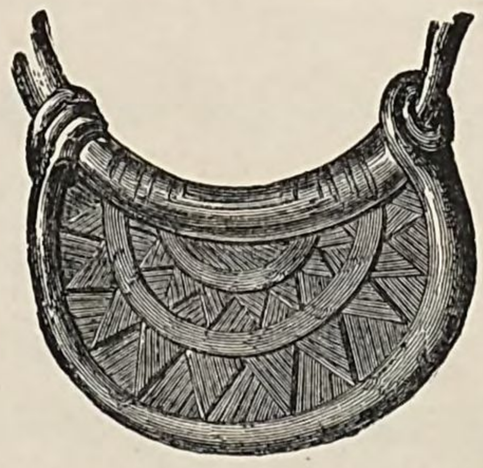
ROMAN LANCASHIRE;

OR,

A DESCRIPTION OF ROMAN REMAINS IN THE COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER.

BY

W. THOMPSON WATKIN.



LIVERPOOL: PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE.

After many delays, through unforeseen circumstances—chiefly the long, severe, and almost fatal illness of the author,—this volume on "Roman Lancashire" is at length laid before the Subscribers.

Though probably better adapted for the scholar than the ordinary reader, it is hoped that to the latter it will prove both profitable and interesting.

At the same time, it may be stated that no attempt has been made to "popularise" the subject, by accepting vague suppositions and theories as certainties, or even probabilities. Facts alone, either historical or antiquarian, are the basis of this volume; and with them the author has endeavoured, by the application of known rules, and the adoption of known postulates, to work out the subject as if it were a geometrical problem, or an algebraical equation.

It is much to be regretted that the large number of Roman remains which must, without any doubt, have been found during the last few centuries in Lancashire are, with the exception of those described in this volume, unrecorded and lost; their loss involving the removal of evidence which would probably have enabled us to identify the name of every station in the county. The only exceptions to this loss will be the possible existence, in collections of old MSS., of details of discoveries; but a search with the view of recovering them might be the work of a lifetime. Should

this work stimulate local antiquaries in any way to make further researches, one great object of the author will have been attained.

In each previous work on Lancashire, published during the last one hundred years, which has embraced a chapter upon the Roman roads and stations, the forged "Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester" has played a conspicuous part, and has led to great confusion. As in his previous archæological essays, the author has carefully excluded it from the present volume.

This, and the increased knowledge derived from excavations and inscriptions, has led to the demolition of many unsound theories, such as giving the name of *Ad Alaunam* to the station at Lancaster, &c. In the case of this station, and of some of the minor ones, the author has preferred to wait for future discoveries, which may give us a clue as to their names, rather than wildly speculate as to them.

Both the pre-Roman (British), and the post-Roman periods, are equally eliminated; the invasion by Aulus Plautius, and the departure of the Roman forces from our island, forming, in the author's opinion, the Alpha and Omega of genuine Britanno-Roman history.

A work of this nature, as will be evident to all, cannot be compiled without large quotations from previous writers, which it is believed are given with due acknowledgment. Such quotations are, however, mostly confined to the *particulars* of discoveries, whilst the *opinions* based upon them are those of the author—in many cases, no doubt, agreeing with those of the discoverers, in others differing essentially.

Of many of the articles engraved, photographs have been specially taken for the purpose. The greater number of the woodcuts have been executed by Mr. R. Langton, of Manchester, and a portion by Messrs. A. and T. Evans, of Liverpool.

One other duty remains to be performed, which is, to thank the various friends who have assisted the author in the preparation of this work. His thanks are due to the Council of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, for the loan of the wood blocks of several of the illustrations; to Mr. Robert Blair, of South Shields, for much assistance in the technical description of a number of the coins; and to Miss ffarington, of Worden Hall, for similar assistance.

Much information has been communicated by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart.; Mr. E. Kirk, of Eccles; Mr. T. H. Dalzell, of Clifton Hall, Workington; the Rev. James Marshall, Tatham Fells; and Mr. W. O. Roper, of Lancaster. Mr. D. Geddes, of Blackburn, and the Rev. F. J. Perrin, Rector of Ribchester, have also communicated several interesting particulars. To each of these gentlemen the author desires to express his thanks.

W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

226, West Derby Road,

Liverpool, *January 1st, 1883.*

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SHEWING THE COURSES OF THE ROMAN ROADS.

WITH THE SITES OF THE STATIONS,

—— AND OF THE ——

MISCELLANEOUS DISCOVERIES.

T. BRAKELL, 58, DALE STREET, LIVERPOOL.

SCALE ENGLISH MILES 0 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

ROADS OF THE HIGHER EMPIRE MARKED

Do OF THE LOWER EMPIRE AND OF UNCERTAIN DATE

SUPPOSED ROADS

COUNTY BOUNDARIES

CUMBERLAND

WESTMORELAND

YORKSHIRE

CHESHIRE

MORICAMBE ESTUARIA

BELISAMA ESTUARIA

SETEIA ESTUARIA

AMBLESIDE

SATTERTHWAITE

ROAD TRACED

BROUGHTON IN FURNESS

NATLAND

KENDAL

KENDAL

CASTLE HEAD

ULVERSTON

UPPER HOLKER

ALLITHWAITE

CONISHEAD

ELLISCALES

DALTON

URSWICK

WALNEY ISLAND

RIVER KENT

GALACUM OVERBOROUGH

TUNSTALL

ARKHOLME

MELLING

HORNBY

HALTON

CATON

QUERNMOOR

SUPPOSED ROAD

IVAH

LANCASTER

RIVER LUNE

ASHTON

GALGATE

SUPPOSED SITE OF PORTUS SETANTIORUM

ROSSALL PT.

FENNY

MOUND

GTALMINE MOSS

WYRE RIVER

WOODEN ROAD

MYERSCOUGH

ELSWICK

WEETON

WOODPLUMPTON

KIRKHAM

SALWICK

BREMETONACUM RIBCHESTER

ALSTON

CASTLE HOLME

PORTFIELD

CHATBURN

WORSTHORNE

COLNE

EMMET

GREENFIELD

CASTERCLIFF

TWIST CASTLE

RINGSTONES CAMP

BURNLEY

MERECLOUGH

DYER WOOD

HOLME

MELLOR

WALTON

RIVER RIBBLE

LANGTON MOSS

PIPPIN STREET

LEYLAND

WHITTLE

HEAPY

WORDEN

PICKERING CASTLE

TODMORDEN

REDDYSHORE SCOUT GATE

BLACKSTONE EDGE

LITTLEBOROUGH

STUBLEY HALL

MOUND

THROSTLE HILL

WALMERSLEY

CASTLE MERE

ROCHDALE

HOOLEY WOOD

CRIMBLE HALL

AINSWORTH

BURY

SCARISBRICK

FORMBY

DOWNHOLLAND

STANDISH

SUPPOSED ROAD

ROYTON

STREET BRIDGE

PLUMPTON CLOUGH

COCCIUM WIGAN

UP HOLLAND

RIVER IRWELL

CASTLE HILL

STREET FOLD

WERNETH

MOSSLEY

STALEY STREET

ASHTON IN MAKERFIELD

LEIGH

HOPE HALL

RIVER MEDLOCK

STALEYBRIDGE

BARTON

CAMP FIELD

MANCUNIUM MANCHESTER

SUPPOSED ROAD

URMSTON

FLIXTON

STRETFORD

IRLAM

RISLEY

CROSS STREET

STOCKPORT

R. MERSEY

TORBOCK

WARRINGTON

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SUPPOSED ROAD

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OTTERSPOOL

GRASSENDALE

ROAD TRACED

R. MERSEY

ROMAN LANCASHIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE ROMAN INVASION OF BRITAIN.—PTOLEMY'S ACCOUNT OF THE BRIGANTES AND THE LANCASHIRE COAST.—BRITAIN AND LANCASHIRE DURING THE ROMAN EPOCH.

The invasion of Britain by Aulus Plautius, the general of Claudius Cæsar, in A.D. 43, formed, in reality, the commencement of Britanno-Roman history; for the two campaigns of Julius Cæsar (B.C. 55 and 54) were more of the nature of a *reconnaissance* in force, than any attempt at a permanent conquest.

Although Plautius had with him four legions (2nd, 9th, 14th, and 20th), with their auxiliaries—in all, about 48,000 men,—he made but little progress towards subduing the Britons, and after some hard fighting and severe losses, he retreated towards Kent, entrenching himself on the bank of the Thames, probably at the large camp at Keston. He summoned the Emperor to his assistance, and in the following year (A.D. 44), Claudius came over in person with reinforcements. Passing the Thames, he defeated the Britons in a regular battle, which was followed by the capture of *Camulodunum* (Colchester). The inhabitants of that portion of the country then made their submission, and were disarmed. Plautius was appointed Imperial Legate, or Governor of Britain, with orders to subdue the whole island.

So quickly was this first conquest effected, that, Dion Cassius tells us, Claudius was only sixteen days in Britain, and sending on, in advance, news of his success, had a triumph and the surname of *Britannicus* decreed him. Gold and silver coins were struck to commemorate the event, having on the reverse a triumphal arch, with the inscription—DE BRITANN.

The second in command (under Plautius) at this time was the celebrated Vespasian, afterwards Emperor. His son Titus served also as a Tribune. Suetonius tells us that Vespasian fought thirty times with the Britons, and

subdued two of the principal nations and above twenty towns, including the Isle of Wight. In fact, the whole of the operations against the Britons seem to have been confined to the south of the island for the first seven or eight years.

Lancashire at this time formed part of the territory of the large British tribe called the Brigantes, who not only occupied this county, but also Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, and Yorkshire. The geographer, Ptolemy, who lived in the reign of Antoninus Pius, *circa* A.D. 140, has left us, in his description of Britain, an account of their position in the island, and the names of some of their chief towns. His words are—

> And south from the Selgovae and the Otadeni, and reaching from sea to sea, are the Brigantes, whose towns are—

	Long.	Lat.
Epiacum	18.30	58.30
Vinovium	17.30	58.00
Caturractonium	20.00	58.00
Calatum	19.00	57.30
Isurium	20.00	57.40
Rigodunum	18.00	57.30
Olicana	19.00	57.30
Eboracum (Legio Sexta Victrix)	20.00	57.20
Camulodunum	18.15	57.00

From other parts of the work we ascertain that the Selgovae were inhabitants of the country about the north bank of the Solway Firth, and that the Otadeni were settled in Northumberland. In the same way, by the names of the towns, and the position assigned to the tribes south of the Brigantes, we can identify the southern boundary of the latter very closely. It apparently stretched nearly straight across England, from the Humber to the Mersey, or, possibly, the Dee. Of the above-named towns, nearly all can be identified. *Vinovium*, as we know from the Antonine Itinerary, is the Roman station at Binchester, near Bishop Auckland, county Durham. From the same work, and from other sources, we ascertain that *Caturractonium*, *Isurium*, *Eboracum*, and *Cambodunum* (erroneously given as *Camulodunum* by Ptolemy), are represented by the Roman stations at Catterick, Aldborough, York, and Slack, near Halifax (all in Yorkshire). *Olicana* was probably Ilkley, in the same county. *Calatum* was probably the same as the *Galacum* of the Antonine Itinerary, now Overborough, in North Lancashire. *Rigodunum* seems to have been on the Ribble, but has not yet been identified, whilst *Epiacum*, which only occurs in this work, is a site as yet unknown. Ptolemy, however, evidently does not give us anything approaching to the complete number of the towns in this territory, but in all

probability selects those best known, most populous, and which were British sites prior to the coming of the Romans, though, at the time he wrote, they had become walled Roman fortresses, or fortified towns. As to the date of their becoming so I will presently speak. Within the same limits of latitude and longitude as the above-named stations, Ptolemy, when describing the West Coast of England, gives the following list of estuaries :—

	Long.	Lat.
Estuary Moricambe	17.30	58.20
Haven of the Setantii	17.20	57.45
Estuary Belisama	17.30	57.20
Estuary Seteia	17.00	57.00

From the position in which this author places the "Estuary Moricambe," especially with regard to its distance from the "Ituna" (Solway), it has been thought doubtful whether the mouth of the Kent and Morecambe Bay are meant by the term ; but Mr. T. Glazebrook Rylands, F.S.A., has recently, and I think very satisfactorily, shewn that such is the case, also that the *Belisama* and *Seteia* are the Mersey and Dee respectively.* In the map accompanying the edition of Ptolemy published in A.D. 1482 *(Ulmae)*, they are plainly marked as such, and the peninsula of Wirral dividing them. The "Haven of the Setantii" is also marked on the same map as at the mouth of the Ribble, where it has generally been placed. The mouths of the Wyre and of the Lune seem to be omitted in the work. The Setantii appear to have been a subordinate tribe of the Brigantes.

Such was the country upon which as yet the storm of Roman conquest had not burst, though by sensible degrees it was approaching. In A.D. 47, Ostorius Scapula succeeded Plautius as Imperial Legate, and threw considerable vigour into the war, which had hitherto been languishing on the part of the Romans. This had encouraged the unsubdued tribes, who had attacked the territories of the tribes which were allies of Rome. Though it was the commencement of winter, Ostorius, to the surprise of the Britons, gathered together a few light-armed cohorts, with which he attacked and routed them, and then disarming the suspected tribes, commenced preparations for the erection of a line of forts from the Severn to the Nene. This proceeding drove the Iceni into rebellion against him, but they were defeated in a hard-fought battle (probably in Northants or Huntingdonshire), after which the line of forts was constructed,

* *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. xxx., p. 81.

thus cutting off Southern from Northern Britain.* What follows is related by Tacitus thus :—

> For the rest, the overthrow of the Icenians determined those who were wavering between peace and war to remain quiet. The army was led thence against the Cangians, wasted their territories, and gathered booty on all sides, the enemy not daring to encounter them openly, or if they attempted to gall them on their march it was not with impunity. He had now approached the sea which washes the coast of Ireland, when commotions begun amongst the Brigantes obliged the general to return thither, as he had formed a settled determination not to prosecute any new enterprise till his former were completed and secure. The Brigantes indeed soon returned to their homes, a few who raised the revolt having been slain and the rest pardoned. †

This is the first time that the Brigantes are known to have come into contact with the Roman armies, but, from the wording of the chapter, it would almost seem that Ostorius had passed through some portion of their territory, and received the submission of part of the tribe. It does not appear that he placed any garrisons or erected any forts among them. The *Cangi* are generally believed to have inhabited portions of Caernarvonshire, Flintshire and Denbighshire, which agrees with the words of Tacitus.

The brave Silures, who inhabited the counties of Hereford, Monmouth, Radnor, South Shropshire, &c., at this time began to harrass Ostorius, determined, if possible, not to abandon their territory or lose their freedom. He accordingly marched against them, and the result was the great battle in which Caractacus, their leader, was completely overthrown. In connection with this event, the Brigantes are again mentioned by Tacitus :

> Caractacus (who had escaped from the battle) himself sought the protection of Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, but, as is generally the case, adversity can find no sure refuge, he was delivered up in chains to the conquerors, in the ninth year after the commencement of the war in Britain.‡

What followed is known to every schoolboy. Caractacus was sent (with his family) a prisoner to Rome, where his noble bearing and language so influenced the Emperor Claudius, that he at once gave him his liberty, A.D. 50.

But the defeat of Caractacus did not crush the Silures, who soon afterwards fell upon the Romans, broke up their fortified camp, and slew the prefect, with eight centurions. But for the arrival of reinforcements, none would have escaped. A foraging party and detachments sent to its support were also routed ; and Ostorius, on giving battle again, with his whole force, achieved a

* Tacitus, *Annals*, book xii., ch. 31. (Oxford edit., Bohn.) † *Ibid.*, ch. 32. ‡ *Ibid.*, ch. 36.

very doubtful success, his losses being heavy, whilst those of his enemies were slight. The Silures carried on a sort of irregular guerilla warfare, suddenly surprising and cutting to pieces detachments and even larger bodies, until at last, from continual anxiety and fatigue, Ostorius expired, to the great joy of the Britons, who were aware that their incessant resistance had been the cause of his decease *(circa* A.D. 52).

His successor was Aulus Didius Gallus, in whose time another conflict with the Brigantes occurred. Tacitus,* speaking of the Silures, says:—

> Their most accomplished leader, since the taking of Caractacus, was Venusius, of the city of the Jugantes;† as I have above mentioned, long faithful to the Romans, and protected by their arms during his marriage with the Queen Cartismandua, but being afterwards divorced from her, and then immediately at war with her, he conceived hostile purposes towards us also. Their arms at first were only employed against each other, but the Queen having by subtle stratagems possessed herself of the brother and other kindred of Venusius, the enemy became exasperated, and scorning the infamy of falling under the dominion of a woman, assembled all their ablest and most warlike youth and invaded her territories, an event foreseen by us; so that we had sent some cohorts to aid her, and a fierce battle ensued, in which the first onset was doubtful, but the issue successful. A similar fortune attended a battle fought by the legion under Caesius Nasica.

Didius Gallus was the last of the legates appointed by Claudius, who died in A.D. 54, and was succeeded by Nero, by whom Gallus was retained as legate until A.D. 57. During his five years' administration of British affairs, however, no advance seems to have been made, matters remaining at a standstill, and probably much territory was recovered by the Britons. In A.D. 57, Gallus was succeeded by Veranius, who died within a year of his appointment. Little or nothing is known of his administration. He was succeeded in A.D. 58 (or 59) by Suetonius Paulinus. This legate, Tacitus tells us—

> commanded with success for two years, subduing various nations and establishing garrisons. In the confidence with which this inspired him, he undertook an expedition against the island Mona (Anglesey), which had furnished the revolters with supplies, and thereby exposed the settlements behind him to a surprise.

To cross the Menai Straits, we are told by the same author, he built flat-bottomed boats:

> In these the foot were embarked; the horse followed, partly by fording and partly swimming by the side of their horses where the water was deep.

* *Annals*, book xii, ch. 40.

† This is undoubtedly an error for "Brigantes," as the context shews. Cartismandua, we have before seen, was queen of that people.

He totally overthrew the Britons, and cut down the sacred groves of the Druids, placing a garrison in their midst. But whilst pursuing this success, terrible tidings reached him from the east of England.

Goaded to madness by the severities of the Roman procurator, Catus Decianus, the Iceni had risen in revolt, under the command of their queen, Boadicea, and were joined by the Trinobantes and other neighbouring tribes. Colchester *(Camulodunum)* first felt their fury, the colony of veterans there being massacred after a gallant defence, the temples and other buildings thrown down, and the settlement, with its inhabitants, destroyed by fire and sword. The 9th legion, marching to the assistance of the colony, was nearly destroyed. Suetonius, upon hearing of this, immediately set out upon his march eastward, and proceeded to London *(Londinium)*. Finding his force insufficient to prevent the destruction of the station, he felt himself compelled to abandon it, with such of the inhabitants as were willing to march with his army. A large number, however, including the aged and infirm, remained behind, and were indiscriminately slaughtered when the Britons, soon after the departure of Suetonius, entered the city, which they destroyed by fire. St. Albans *(Verulamium)* shared the same fate, and Tacitus tells us that no less than 70,000 Romans, with British allies, were slaughtered in a few days.

By calling in detachments, Suetonius soon had 10,000 men under his command, consisting of the 14th legion, with its auxiliaries, and the *vexillarii* of the 20th legion. He took up a strong position and awaited the attack of the Britons. The army of the latter, we are told, was 230,000 strong, but they could not resist the disciplined forces of Rome, and were defeated with tremendous loss. Boadicea poisoned herself, and the Romans proceeded to slaughter all who had been concerned in the insurrection, and likewise all who were supposed to have wavered in their allegiance ; no less than 80,000 persons, according to Tacitus, being massacred. Still the Iceni were not crushed, and when in the next year, A.D. 62, Suetonius was recalled, he left the war unfinished. After Boadicea's defeat, he seems to have brought the Roman fleet into play, for Tacitus tells us that he lost several galleys, with their crews. The Britons seem to have at once recovered Anglesey, on the withdrawal of Suetonius, and the same cause no doubt prevented a further attack on the Brigantes.

Nero sent over 2,000 legionary soldiers, eight auxiliary cohorts, and 1,000 horse to fill up the gaps caused by the Boadicean war, and the place of Suetonius was supplied by Petronius Turpilianus, during whose administration,

which lasted until *circa* A.D. 65, nothing seems to have been done in the way of further conquest. He was succeeded by Trebellius Maximus, of whose term of office the same may be said. Nero died in the middle of the year A.D. 68, and was succeeded by Galba, who only reigned seven months, being assassinated in the beginning of A.D. 69. He was succeeded by Otho, who (only reigning three months and five days) killed himself after the defeat of his forces by Vitellius, about April, A.D. 69. Trebellius Maximus continued as legate during these reigns, when, on the death of Otho, he went over to Gaul, and joined Vitellius in that Province. At this time the legions in the east had risen against Vitellius, and proclaimed Vespasian as emperor. Vitellius replaced Maximus as legate in Britain by Vettius Bolanus, A.D. 69.

An army, under the command of Antonius Primus, which had declared for Vespasian (who was still in the east), now entered Italy, and near Cremona a desperate battle ensued between it and the forces of Vitellius. which resulted in the retreat of the latter with the loss of 30,000 men. Primus followed this up by a siege of Rome itself, and after a desperate battle the capital was stormed, and Vitellius, who had reigned eight months and five days, was killed by a party of soldiers of the victorious army, his body being thrown into the Tiber.

Vespasian was now declared Emperor by the army and the senate, A.D. 70. He left to his son Titus the management of the siege of Jerusalem, and set out for Rome. After the close of the Jewish war, there being peace in all other parts of the empire, the temple of Janus being shut, he turned his attention towards Britain. Bolanus, during his two years tenure of office as legate, seems to have been as inactive as his predecessors, and was consequently replaced in A.D. 71 by Petilius Cerealis, an eminent commander, who had previously served in Britain under Suetonius Paulinus.* He fought afterwards on the side of Vespasian against Vitellius.† Subsequently he (in A.D. 70) commanded the legions in Lower Germany, and signalised himself by the victory which he gained over the celebrated Batavian chief, Civilis.

Tacitus‡ thus speaks of Cerealis and his work in Britain :—

> At length, when Vespasian received the possession of Britain, together with the rest of the world, the great commanders and well-appointed armies which were sent over, abated the confidence of the enemy, and Petilius Cerealis struck terror by an attack upon the Brigantes, who are reputed to compose the most populous state in the whole province. Many battles were fought, some of them attended with much bloodshed, and the greater part of the Brigantes were either brought into subjection or involved in the ravages of war.

* Tacitus, *Annals*, book xiv , ch. 32. † Tacitus, *Hist* , book iii., ch. 59. ‡ *Agricola*, ch. 18.

Whether Lancashire was included in the territory attacked during this campaign is not known. It is quite possible that some of the stations in the county were erected at this time. Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, considers that only the centre of the Brigantian territory, including *Isurium* (Aldborough), was attacked, and that the army of Cerealis then marched back (by the same way it had advanced) to the borders of the territory of the Silures. What his reasons were for such an assertion it is difficult to surmise. For my own part, I have a suspicion that it may have been the eastern portion of the Brigantian territory that was *first* attacked, and gradually the remainder, for the following reasons:—Amongst the troops composing the "well-appointed armies" which were sent over, I have but little doubt, was the *Legio Secunda Adjutrix pia fidelis* (LEG. II. AD. P. F.) We find traces of it at Bath and Lincoln. The tombstone of one of its soldiers, found at the first-named place, is doubtless that of a sick person who had gone there to use the waters. But two tombstones of members of the legion, found at Lincoln, convey a different meaning. The withdrawal of the 14th legion, had reduced the strength of the army in Britain, and in order to make a forward movement the *Legio II. Adjutrix* took its place. It could only be during the reigns of Vespasian and Titus that this legion was here, for we know where, in the next reign, it was stationed on the Continent. As one of the three memorials of the 14th legion found in England occurs at Lincoln also (the other two were found at Wroxeter), there is a strong probability that the *Legio II. Adjutrix* succeeded the 14th in its quarters at Lincoln, and that (being specially sent over) it was from this point that the march northwards was begun, of course avoiding the Humber by a western *detour*.

As the account of Tacitus speaks of many battles being fought, Cerealis was probably occupied during the whole (or nearly so) of his tenure of office in subduing the Brigantes, and we have no record of his attacking any other British tribe. The general opinion seems to be, that he entirely subdued the Brigantes, adding their territory to the empire. Certain it is that when, a few years later, Agricola marched from North Wales to the Solway, we hear of no opposition from this tribe. Tacitus considers Cerealis to have most effectively done his work, for he says—

> The conduct and reputation of Cerealis were so brilliant that they might have eclipsed the splendour of a successor, yet Julius Frontinus, a truly great man, supported the arduous competition as far as circumstances would permit. He subdued the strong and warlike nation of the Silures.

This Julius Frontinus, who succeeded Cerealis as imperial legate, *circa* A.D. 75, was a most distinguished officer. His *forte* was engineering, and his works on the aqueducts of Rome, and other subjects, are still extant. His tenure of office lasted for three years, when he was succeeded, in A.D. 78, by the celebrated Cnaeus Julius Agricola, by far the greatest Roman governor that Britain ever had. His son-in-law, the historian Tacitus, who wrote his biography, probably accompanied him to Britain. Agricola had previously served in our island under Suetonius Paulinus, and Vettius Bolanus, having the command of the 20th legion, under the latter. His arrival here took place late in the summer, yet he nevertheless decided to assume the offensive. The *Ordovices* (inhabitants of Merionethshire, Caernarvonshire, &c.) had just fallen upon a Roman cavalry regiment, and almost destroyed it. Agricola, assembling his army, at once marched against them and subdued them, with great slaughter. He followed up his success by an attack on Anglesey, of which Tacitus says—

> Agricola, sensible that renown must be followed up, and that the future events of the war must be determined by the first success, resolved to make an attempt upon the island of Mona, from the occupation of which Paulinus had been summoned by the general rebellion of Britain, as before related. The usual deficiency of an unforeseen expedition appearing in the want of transport vessels, the ability and resolution of the general were exerted to supply this defect. A select body of auxiliaries, disencumbered of their baggage, who were well acquainted with the fords, and accustomed after the manner of their country to direct their horses and manage their arms while swimming, were ordered suddenly to plunge into the channel, by which movement the enemy, who expected the arrival of a fleet, and a formal invasion by sea, were struck with terror and astonishment, conceiving nothing arduous or insuperable to troops who thus advanced to the attack.

Agricola soon conquered the island, his troops nearly exterminating the inhabitants. From the words of Tacitus, it is evident that he had no fleet with him, and consequently that in his subsequent invasion of Lancashire, he relied solely upon his army. The fleet would at this time probably be at its usual quarters, Dover and Lymne, where we find it has left memorials of its presence.

The winter of A.D. 78-9 Agricola spent in endeavouring, by lenient measures, to reconcile the inhabitants of the newly-conquered territory to the Roman sway. He suppressed the arrogance and licentiousness of his soldiery, and listening to all complaints of oppression, redressed the grievances of the Britons, whilst firmly administering justice; and by these means he gained the confidence of the tribes. It is most probable that his head-quarters during this winter were at Chester, which from various circumstances would appear to have

been a Roman station some years before this; but I will say more on the subject when treating of Manchester.

It was now that Lancashire was destined to thoroughly fall beneath the Roman yoke. Tacitus says—

> On the approach of summer (A.D. 79), he re-assembled his army, and in advancing failed not to excite a proper spirit of emulation among the troops, praising those who best observed their several duties, and checking such as were remiss. He himself chose the ground for encamping; the estuaries and woods he always examined first, and allowing the enemy no respite, he continually harrassed them with sudden incursions and ravages. Having alarmed and terrified them sufficiently, he next tried the effects of good usage and the allurements of peace. By this wise and prudent conduct, several communities, which till then had maintained their independence, submitted to the Romans, gave hostages, and suffered garrisons and fortresses to be placed among them. These strongholds he established with such judgment, as effectually secured all those parts of Britain which had then been visited by the Romans.

With regard to these words of Tacitus, the following may be gathered from them:—That when Agricola advanced, it could not have been into Wales, for the tribes there were already subdued. It could not have been southward or eastward, for southern, eastern, and central Britain were subjugated previous to the attack of Petilius Cerealis upon the Brigantes; it could therefore only be to the north or north-east that an advance was made. That it was made to the north, through Lancashire, seems confirmed by Tacitus informing us that Agricola personally examined "the estuaries." Had his advance been to the north-east he would have met with no estuary until he reached the Tees; but, in advancing either from the territory of the Ordovices or from Chester, he would meet with (besides the Dee) the estuaries of the Mersey, Ribble, Wyre, Lune, Kent, &c., in Lancashire alone.*

Again, it would appear that this advance was made amongst a partially-subdued people. We hear of no great battle,—of no organised opposition. Agricola's idea was to "alarm and terrify" them. This, and the passage "several *communities* which had *till then* preserved their independence," agrees well with the account previously given by Tacitus, that the "greater part" of the Brigantes were subdued by Petilius Cerealis. And as from Tacitus, also, we know that this year's advance was the first stage of Agricola's progress to Scotland, it seems a certainty that Lancashire was finally subjugated in A.D. 79.

* Tacitus couples the "woods" with the "estuaries," his words being, "esturia et silvas." This further confirms the conclusion that it was through Lancashire that Agricola advanced, as at the time of the Doomsday survey there were 250,000 acres of dense woods in the region between the Mersey and the Ribble alone.

The forts which Agricola erected cannot with certainty be identified, unless we are to understand that Cerealis placed no garrisons amongst such of the Brigantes as had submitted to Rome during his campaigns; but, adopting this assumption, we may safely place *Mancunium*, *Bremetonacae* and *Galacum* on the list of Agricola's forts. The fortresses at Lancaster and Colne, and the small post at Wigan, were, I think, later erections; the first named being probably of the age of Hadrian.

How far northwards Agricola penetrated this year is also not known with any degree of exactness. Many antiquaries consider that some of the fortresses he erected were in a line between the Tyne and Solway (on a portion of the site of the wall afterwards built by Hadrian), and that the principal part of such fighting as occurred took place there. This is, however, but supposition.*

We hear no more of the Brigantes during the remainder of Agricola's tenure of office, which lasted until A.D. 84, or commencement of A.D. 85. In the same year that he subdued Lancashire, his patron, the Emperor Vespasian, died; but he continued to serve under Titus (who died September, A.D 81), and Domitian.

During these five years he subdued the extreme north of England and the southern half of Scotland, erecting a line of forts between the Forth and Clyde, as a barrier to the northern Caledonians, whose territory, however, he had invaded as far as the Grampian Hills, where (probably at Ardoch camp) he had a great and final battle with them, under the command of their chief, Galgacus. They were 30,000 strong, and lost, according to Tacitus, 10,000 in the battle, the Roman loss being only about 340 men. The Caledonians, in retreating, laid waste the country in Agricola's front, burning their dwellings, and many of them killing their wives and daughters to save them from slavery; but the Roman commander advanced no further. His fleet had in his two last campaigns helped him materially, advancing, simultaneously with the army, along the eastern coast. He now sent it northwards on an exploring expedition, which resulted in the Romans ascertaining that Britain was an island; for the fleet sailed round the north of Scotland, then down the western coast of Scotland and England, and turning eastward at the Land's End, it came to the Trutulensian harbour (probably Richborough, in Kent), then sailing northwards along the eastern coast of England it came to the point whence it had started.

* The following winter, Tacitus informs us, was spent by Agricola in civilizing the conquered tribes, instructing them "in the art of building houses, temples, and places of public resort. The sons of their chiefs were taught the liberal sciences," and learnt the Roman language. "By degrees, the customs, manners and dress of their conquerors became familiar to them," and Agricola thus imperceptibly "rivetted their chains."

Such was the renown of Agricola, owing to his British campaigns, that it aroused the jealousy of Domitian, who recalled him. The name of his successor is not known, but as a certain Sallustius Lucullus was legate of Britain, and put to death by Domitian for calling some new lances "Lucullean," he may probably have succeeded. Domitian was assassinated A.D. 96; Nerva, his successor, died A.D. 98, and in his reign historians are silent as to any remarkable events occurring in Britain. The next emperor, Trajan, reigned from A.D. 98 to A.D. 117.* Spartian, the historian, who wrote about A.D. 280, states that a revolt, which was soon crushed, took place in Britain in his reign. It is quite possible that the Brigantes had a share in it.

The next emperor was Hadrian, A.D. 117-138, who found matters in a very disturbed state in Britain on his accession. His views were in favour of preserving the limits of the empire, without any further attempt at conquest. A thoroughly great sovereign, he imposed upon himself the task of visiting all parts of his empire; the first thirteen years of his reign being thus more or less occupied. His first visit was to Gaul, thence into Germany, from there to Holland, and thence into Britain.

From the numerous inscriptions found on the Roman wall between the Tyne and the Solway, in which he is mentioned, it is evident that it was built under his directions, though none of the *contemporary* historians allude to it; the first author who names it being Ælius Spartianus, who flourished *circa* A.D. 280. Spartianus and Capitolinus, who lived about the same time, also mention that Septimius Severus built a wall, and in this they are followed by some later historians, whilst Herodian, who was contemporary with Severus, mentions nothing as to his erecting such a work, though he gives an account of his campaigns, &c. The portion of the works of Dion Cassius (who was likewise contemporary with Severus) relating to Britain, is lost, but we have it given in an abridged form by Xiphiline, a later writer, and in this there is only an incidental reference to the wall, and that in connection with the Caledonians and the tribe of the *Meatae*. "The latter," says Dion Cassius, "dwell near the wall which divides the island into two parts." This is quite consistent with its existence before the time of Severus.

No inscription *dedicated* to Severus has been found on the whole length of the wall; which is a singular fact. One found on its line (at Benwell), is of his

* We know the names of one or two legates who commanded about this time; T. Avidius . . . . in A.D. 98; L. Neratius Marcellus, A.D. 104, and C. Salvius Liberalis, the time of whose tenure of office is not exactly known, but it may have been under Domitian and Nerva, or Nerva and Trajan.

age, and evidently, under the phrase *Victoriae Augustorum*, alludes to him and his son Caracalla, for it was erected during the time that one of his legates, Lucius Alfenius Senecio, held office. This is, however, of no value in determining whether he erected the wall; in fact, rather negatives it, in face of the numerous inscriptions dedicated to Hadrian, which are chiefly gateway slabs, &c.

The discussion as to which of these emperors built the wall has been very great, but no writer seems to have considered the fact that *both* may have been, in one sense, its builders. Hadrian, no doubt, first erected it, but in the great insurrection in the reign of Commodus, it was probably virtually destroyed, and remained so during the short reigns of Pertinax and Didius, and the usurpation of Clodius Albinus. When Severus defeated the latter, and the Roman power was re-established, then came the restoration or rebuilding of the wall, for which, by courtiers and flatterers, Severus got the credit of original erection. The forts on its line may not have shared its fate in the insurrection, but, perhaps, existed as independent fortresses during this period.

It was in the year A.D. 120 that Hadrian crossed over to Britain. Those of his legates whose names are known, were Aulus Platorius Nepos (who had command in A.D. 124, according to the Riveling *tabula*, and who, from inscriptions, was legate when the wall was built), Q. Pompeius Falco, and Julius Severus. Hadrian, dying in A.D. 138, was succeeded by Antoninus Pius. This emperor had some trouble with the Brigantes; for Pausanias, the historian, who flourished about A.D. 140, says*—

> He (Antoninus) deprived the Brigantes, in Britain, of a great portion of their land, because with arms they had begun to overrun the territory of the Genuini, who were tributary to the Romans.

Who the Genuini were cannot now be determined. They were probably only a subordinate tribe.

Lollius Urbicus, the first legate of this emperor, subdued the tribes north of the wall of Hadrian, and restored to the empire the bounds which Agricola had given it, building a large earthen rampart or wall, with ditch, and an accompanying roadway, between the mouths of the Forth and the Clyde. He appears to have been succeeded as legate by Papirius Aelianus, who was here in A.D. 146.

The passage I have quoted from Pausanias is the latest notice of the tribe

* Book viii., ch. 43.

of the Brigantes by historians. Henceforward, with slight exceptions, we hear only of "the Britons."

In A.D. 161, Antoninus was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius, who took Lucius Verus as his colleague in the empire. At the commencement of his reign there was an outbreak in Britain, according to Julius Capitolinus, and Calpurnius Agricola was sent over as legate to subdue it, which he did *circa* A.D. 162. Another legate of the same emperors was Marcus Statius Priscus, but the date of his holding office is uncertain.

Marcus Aurelius died in A.D. 180, and was succeeded by Commodus, whose reign was signalised by a war on a large scale in Britain. Xiphiline, in his abridgement of Dion Cassius, informs us that the Caledonians broke through the wall* (evidently the Northumbrian one) which divided them from the Roman province, attacked the Romans, killed the general-in-chief, thoroughly demoralised the army, cutting a great part of it to pieces, and remained for some time masters of a great portion of the island. Commodus sent a new legate, Ulpius Marcellus, against them, who successfully repelled their advance. This seems to have been *circa* A.D. 183-4; and that the Caledonian ravages extended as far as Lancashire I shall endeavour to show when treating of Ribchester.

From Xiphiline's history, it has been supposed that Perennis was the successor of Marcellus, and that he was killed during a mutiny of the army in Britain, but the evidence as to his being in our island is very weak. From Julius Capitolinus we learn that the next legate of Commodus was Helvius Pertinax (afterwards emperor). Pertinax succeeded at length in crushing the mutiny of the army, but was left for dead on the field, and on recovering demanded to be recalled. Capitolinus tells us that his successor was Clodius Albinus, who, after being some time in Britain, displeased Commodus, and Junius Severus was sent to replace him. It would almost appear that this legate never arrived in Britain; he was certainly appointed but a short time before the murder of Commodus, which took place at the end of A.D. 192.

The short reign of Helvius Pertinax (scarcely three months) followed, when Didius Julianus bought the empire from the Prætorian Guards, and after reigning two months, was himself murdered. According to Xiphiline (lxiii.), Albinus still held the command in Britain during the reign of Didius. In the interval between the death of Pertinax and that of Didius, Septimius Severus (who

* There can be little doubt but that it was in this outbreak that the Antonine wall (between the Forth and Clyde) was abandoned. The only emperor named in the inscriptions found on its line is Antoninus Pius.

commanded the army in Pannonia), Pescennius Niger (who commanded that of Syria), and Clodius Albinus, all advanced their claims to the empire. Severus, being nearest to Rome, by liberal promises to his legions, induced them not only to proclaim him emperor, but to rapidly march with him upon that capital, and in forty days had advanced close to the city, which he soon after entered. Staying thirty days only, he left Rome to oppose Niger, who, after being defeated at Nicaea and Issus, was in A.D. 194 slain at Antioch.

In the meantime, according to Dion Cassius, Herodian, and Capitolinus, Severus had conferred the title of Cæsar upon Clodius Albinus, but, according to Aurelius Victor, Albinus *declared himself* Cæsar, and that in *Gaul*.

In A.D. 196, after having gone through other wars in the East, Severus openly declared war against Albinus (whom he had previously endeavoured to have assassinated), and marched into Gaul for that purpose. The latter had brought over a large army, chiefly composed of Britons, and met the forces of Severus on the plains of *Tinurtium*, near *Lugdunum* (the modern Lyons). About 150,000 men were engaged, and after a desperate battle, which at one time seemed to have been won by Albinus, the Roman arms prevailed, and the death of Albinus left Severus master of the Roman empire.

We have no traces left, in the form of inscriptions, &c., of the four years' sway of Albinus in Britain; but they would probably be destroyed by order of Severus as soon as he obtained power in the island. Some, at least, of the Roman forces did not go over to the Continent with him; in fact, it is very doubtful whether any did, as his army is spoken of as being composed of Britons. It is also quite possible that the Roman army here was under the control of the joint emperors (Severus and Albinus), and that their legate was Virius Lupus, notwithstanding the appearance of the latter at the battle of *Tinurtium*, fighting against Albinus. Lupus, we know, was legate here *circa* A.D. 197, but how long he had been in the island is not yet known, though inscriptions may some day enlighten us on the subject.

As to the condition of the northern part of the island during these four years, everything seems to point to the fact that the Roman forces held their own, though harrassed by frequent attacks of the Caledonians, the great wall not having yet been restored; so that Lancashire partook of the general alarm. Soon after this, Severus divided the island into two provinces,* Britannia Superior and Britannia Inferior. Two shattered inscriptions found at Greta Bridge, in Yorkshire, name the former, and another, found in Algeria, also

* Herodian, lib. 3, cap. 24.

names it. Of the latter, several Algerian memorials exist, but no inscriptions relating to it have been found in Britain. In which of these divisions Lancashire was included is not known, but I have a strong suspicion that the river Tees formed part of the boundary line between them.

The successor of Lupus was probably Lucius Alfenius Senecio, who was, according to inscriptions, here A.D. 205-7. He appears to have been impotent to resist the Caledonians, endeavoured by money bribes to gain their submission, which they refused, and then appealed to Severus to come over in person. This the emperor did, in spite of a severe illness (supposed to have been the gout, with which he seems to have been chronically afflicted), and ot his age, for he was at that time sixty years old. This was at the close ot A.D. 207 or beginning of 208. He brought a large force with him, and was accompanied by his sons, Caracalla and Geta. Leaving the latter to administer affairs in the southern part of Britain, he marched to the north. According to the historians of the time (Herodian and Dion Cassius), the Caledonians sent an embassy to endeavour to make an arrangement with him, but as he would insist upon their total subjection to Rome, the mission of the ambassadors failed. Severus, during the campaign, penetrated into the very heart of Caledonia, though not to the extreme north. Probably Aberdeen and Inverness-shires would mark the limit of his advance. It was sufficiently far north to excite the astonishment of the soldiers at the length of the days and shortness of the nights in summer. The Caledonians avoided coming to any general action, but harrassed him severely on his march, and as the latter was slow, owing to the cutting down of forests, building bridges, draining bogs, and making raised roads, both through them and the country generally, it is stated that he lost 50,000 men. He, however, gained his end—the Caledonians suing for peace. But as he found he could not hold the country permanently, without a large force being stationed there, he returned southwards, and ordered the wall of Hadrian to be restored. He seems to have been settled at York A.D. 210; for a law of his, dated from that city in the same year, is still extant. Soon afterwards the Caledonians resumed the offensive, and Severus, ordering their extermination without respect of age or sex, was preparing to march northwards again, when he was struck down by death, at York, February 4th, A.D. 211, thus finishing his reign and life in Brigantian territory.

Caracalla, who (with his brother, Geta) had been proclaimed emperor at York by the army, desirous of leaving Britain, made a sudden peace with the Caledonii and Meatae, ceding to them, apparently, everything gained by Severus. He

then returned to Rome with Geta, carrying their father's remains. Although we know from inscriptions the names of some sixteen or seventeen imperial legates who governed the island between this time and A.D. 258, nothing of moment is recorded by historians as occurring in Britain during the interval.

Between A.D. 258 and 268, however, there arose in the Roman empire the remarkable series of usurpers called the "Thirty Tyrants." Four of these,—Postumus, Victorinus, Marius, and Tetricus,—reigned in Gaul; the first two as joint emperors for a period of nine years, A.D. 258 to 267, when they were assassinated. The third (Marius), though his coins are plentiful, only reigned, according to historians, three days, and was then killed; whilst the fourth (Tetricus), reigned from A.D. 267 to 273, or six years, when he restored his provinces (which included Gaul and Spain) to Aurelian.

It seems almost certain that Britain was included in the dominions of these emperors. With the exception of Marius, inscriptions to all of them have been found in the island, in Cumberland, Lincoln, Wales, and Hampshire. Their coins are also very numerous; and yet, strange to say, the historians of the period do not mention Britain. The same silence is observed until A.D. 282, when Carus became emperor, and associated his sons, Carinus and Numerian, with him in the empire. His biographer, Vopiscus, says: "Carus gave this island (Britain), with other provinces, to his son Carinus." Carus was killed by lightning, after reigning little more than a year, in A.D. 283, and both Carinus and Numerian were murdered the next year, A.D. 284. Diocletian succeeded, and in A.D. 286 took for his colleague in the empire, Maximianus. After reigning six years, they each (in A.D. 292) appointed a Cæsar, Diocletian making choice of Galerius Valerius Maximianus, and Maximianus of Constantius Chlorus.

An interesting period of Romano-British history now occurs. About A.D. 287, the Saxons and Franks, according to Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, began to ravage the coasts of Gaul and Britain by numerous piratical descents. To oppose them, Carausius was appointed to the command of a strong fleet, the head-quarters of which was on the coasts of the British Channel. He was very successful, but appears to have acted on the plan of letting the pirates make a descent, capturing them on their return, and seizing their plunder, which he appropriated to his own use, and that of his crews, instead of remitting it to Rome. Orders were accordingly sent from the latter place to put him to death. He, however, heard of this intention, and, landing in Britain, persuaded the legions stationed here to proclaim him emperor. Various attempts were made

by Diocletian and Maximianus to subdue him, but in vain, and finally the government of Britain and part of the French coast were ceded to him, and the title of Augustus. For over six years Carausius maintained this position, his fleets commanding the British Channel. But in A.D. 293 he was assassinated at *Eboracum* (York), by his minister, Allectus. This was the second emperor who met his fate in Brigantian territory. No doubt, during his reign, some of the Lancashire *castra* were visited by him.

Allectus was not acknowledged as emperor by Diocletian and Maximianus, who sent a powerful force against him, under Constantius Chlorus. The fleet and army were assembled at Boulogne, and Constantius separated both his military and naval forces into two divisions. One, under Asclepiodatus, evaded the fleet of Allectus in a thick fog, and succeeded in reaching the western coast of England, where the troops were landed. Allectus, who was near London at the time, marched to encounter the invaders, but his force was small and disheartened, and in the battle which ensued his army was utterly defeated, and he himself killed, after a reign of three years. The submission of the whole island followed, before the arrival of Chlorus, who subsequently landed in Kent, and shortly after returned to the Continent.

In A.D. 305, owing to the abdication of Diocletian and Maximianus, Galerius and Constantius Chlorus became *Augusti*. Britain fell to the lot of Constantius, who came over to Britain, and resided at York; his son Constantine accompanying him. At this city, on the 25th July, A.D. 306, he ended his reign and life, fifteen months after attaining the title of Augustus. He was the third emperor who had died there. His son Constantine (afterwards called the Great), was proclaimed emperor by the troops stationed in the city, and after a short campaign, north of the wall of Hadrian, against the Picts and Scots (which appears to have been commenced in his father's lifetime), and in which he was successful, he left Britain, taking with him a large number of British youths as recruits.

His conversion to Christianity took place in A.D. 311; and the coincidence is a singular one, that as from Britain went forth the general (and emperor) who was destined to put an end to the Jewish dispensation (Vespasian), so in Britain the first sovereign who embraced Christianity, and was the means of its adoption by the bulk of the ancient world, assumed the purple, and this latter event took place in Brigantian territory, of which Lancashire formed a part.

On the death of Constantine, in A.D. 337, the empire was divided amongst his three sons, Constantinus, Constantius, and Constans. Britain was in the

share allotted to the eldest son, Constantinus, who invaded the provinces of his brother Constans, and was killed in battle, near Aquileia, A.D. 340.

Constans, in consequence of this event, became sole emperor of the West, including Britain. He came over here about A.D. 342, and had a campaign against the Picts and Scots, who had rebelled. After a reign of thirteen years he was slain, in A.D. 350, on the Franco-Spanish frontier, by a troop of horse despatched for that purpose by Magnentius, who had made himself master of Autun, and was afterwards acknowledged as emperor in Gaul and Italy. Britain appears also to have been under his sway, and he came over to this island for a short period, but was defeated by the army of Constantius in A.D. 353, when he committed suicide by falling on his sword.

In A.D. 361, Julian (nephew of Constantine the Great), who had been appointed Cæsar by Constantius, according to the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, sent over one Lupicinius to Britain, with two *numeri* of Mœsiaci, and *numeri* of Heruli and Batavi, in order to repel the incursions of the Picts and Scots, but they were here for a short time only, when they were recalled. The names of one or two governors of Britain about this time are given by the same author.

In A.D. 367, the Picts and Scots, combined with the Saxons, made another incursion into southern Britain, killing Nectaridus, the governor (or Count) of the Saxon shore, and Bulchobandes, the general. One Severus was sent over to chastise them, but appears to have done nothing, when he was superseded by another general (Jovinus), of whom the same may be said. At length, in the next year, A.D. 368, the emperor Valentinian sent over Theodosius, who, landing at *Rutupiæ* (Richborough, in Kent), marched with several veteran *numeri* of the Heruli, Batavi, Jovii, and Victores to London *(Londinium)*. Dividing his forces, and ordering them to proceed by different roads, he defeated the barbarians at every point, stripping them of the whole of their spoil, which he restored to the owners, except a small portion given to his soldiers. He seems afterwards to have collected a large army from the Roman forces distributed through Britain, and marched to the north, driving the Picts and Scots before him, recovering the cities and forts, which are said to have been much damaged, and restoring them to their former condition. He is said by the same historian (Ammianus Marcellinus) to have recovered the whole of Roman Britain, and not only that, but to have erected additional forts, and named a new province Valentia, in honour of Valentinian. It appears to be certain that the Caledonians were shut up in a narrow compass, as the result of his victories.

Dr. Gale thinks the new forts were between the Clyde and Forth; Horsley thinks the Northumbrian wall was restored, but that nothing was erected beyond this barrier; and in this I agree with him, though I have a very strong suspicion that the new forts which were erected were some of those on the "Saxon shore," as, from existing remains, some of the latter seem to be of the Lower Empire. The evidence is scarcely sufficient to shew that the province "Valentia" was north of Hadrian's wall. I should rather take it that a portion of the *recovered* territory was formed into a separate province. Be that as it may, Lancashire would no doubt have suffered as severely as the rest of the kingdom, and these campaigns of Theodosius, A.D. 368-9, were the means of restoring, if only for a short time, peace and order, in the place of pillage and distraction.

Valentinian died in A.D. 375, and was succeeded by his son Gratian, who took his half-brother (Valentinian II.) as partner with him in the empire. Valens, who had been joint-emperor with Valentinian I., still survived, but on his defeat and death in 378, Gratian appointed Theodosius (son of the general who had won such renown in Britain) to be his colleague. This aroused the jealousy of an officer employed in Britain, named Maximus, with whom Theodosius had served in the army. What his rank was is not known, but it was not a very high one. He was a native of Spain, and it is said (though the authority is doubtful), that he had married a British lady. There is no doubt that he had been long in the island, was well known, and, to a certain extent, respected. The legions in Britain acquiesced in his proposed revolt, and proclaimed him emperor.* The sovereignty of Britain did not, however, satisfy him, and, raising an enormous army (which completely drained the island of its youth) and also a fleet, he invaded Gaul, where the legions received him with acclamations. Gratian, who was then in Gaul, endeavoured to escape from the troops, who had abandoned him, but was overtaken and assassinated, A.D. 383. Maximus, after reigning five years, was defeated by Theodosius and slain in A.D. 388. Valentinian II. was killed in 391; and Theodosius, after appointing his sons, Arcadius and Honorius, *Augusti*, died in 395. It is in the reign of Theodosius that the last-known governor of Britain is named by Socrates, the historian (I., 2). His name was Chrysanthus, and his title was that of *Vicarius*, which had been adopted by all the governors of Britain since the time of Constantine the Great. About A.D. 402, Theodosius II., then an infant, was adopted as joint-emperor. Arcadius died in A.D. 408; Honorius in A.D. 421.

* It is said this occurred at York; if so, Maximus would be the fourth emperor proclaimed there.

Claudian, the poet, states that the celebrated general, Stilicho, had during this period highly distinguished himself in Britain. But soon after the accession of Theodosius II. *(circa* A.D. 407), the inhabitants and troops in this island, fearing an invasion from the Vandals, revolted, and declared an officer of the name of Marcus, emperor. Within a few months he was killed, and Gratian (who is described as a Briton) was proclaimed in his stead. Four months afterwards he suffered the same fate, and a common soldier of the name of Constantine was, on account of his name, invested with the purple. Constantine, in order to divert attention from his dominions, passed over into Gaul, with a large number of Britons, where he was well received. Spain also submitted to him, and, after subduing Northern Italy, he was assassinated in A.D. 411. His revolt had, however, drained our island of its best blood, and the regular legions being recalled soon after, Britain was left unprotected, and fell an easy prey to the Picts and Scots. The exact year when the Roman troops quitted our shores is not known with certainty. When the *Notitia Imperii* (a work which I shall hereafter refer to) was compiled *(circa* A.D. 400), the military force in the island was still considerable. Historians agree that it was in the earlier part of the reign of Theodosius II. (A.D. 402—450), that Britain, with several other provinces, was lost to the empire. Numismatic evidence confirms this, for while the coins of Honorius and Arcadius are plentiful, those of Theodosius II. are few, and of Valentinian III. (A.D. 425-455) very rare,—probably accidentally lost in the course of commercial transactions. Lancashire has yielded very few coins of even Arcadius and Honorius.

CHAPTER II.

THE TENTH ITER OF ANTONINUS.

Amongst the works that have come down to us from Roman times is one bearing the title of *The Itinerary of Antoninus*. It is a sort of working road book, containing a list of the chief military roads of the Roman empire, with the names of the stations upon them, and an approximate measurement of the distances between each station. The first edition of it, which appeared in modern times, was that by H. Stephanus, published at Paris in 1512. This was followed, in 1518, by the edition of Aldus, in 1519 by an edition published at Florence, an edition published about 1536 at Lyons, and another, with notes by Simler, published in 1575, at Basle. In *Holinshead's Chronicle*, published in 1577 by Harrison, the English portion of the *Itinerary* is given. In 1600 another edition of the whole work was published, at Cologne, by Andrew Schott, with notes by Surita, and in 1618, Peter Bert, geographer to Louis XIII., brought out, at Leyden, another edition.

Burton's Commentary on the English portion, published in 1658, was the next work on the subject; and in 1709 a similar work, by Dr. Gale (Dean of York), was published after his death, by his son; followed in 1710 by another edition of the same portion, published by Hearne in his *Leland's Itinerary*, vol. iii., and in 1732 by that of Horsley in his *Britannia Romana*. In all these editions there were sundry errors and discrepancies, arising chiefly from the various ancient MS. copies not being properly collated and examined.* It was not until 1848 that what may be called the authoritative edition appeared. This was the production of MM. Parthey and Pinder, published at Berlin. These gentlemen examined nearly every extant MS. of the work, and in their preface tell us that they selected twenty-one of these on which to base their edition. They give notes as to orthographical discrepancies and variations of distances, leaving no reading unnoticed.

* Camden, in his *Britannia* (1586), Wesseling (Amsterdam, 1735), and Mannert (Leipsic, 1822) also treat of the work, but no new edition is given. The same thing occurs with regard to Reynolds' *Iter Britanniarum* (1799) concerning the British portion.

We are indebted to Mr. J. B. Davidson, M.A.,* for bringing to the notice of English antiquaries an important fact, dwelt upon by MM. Parthey and Pinder in their preface (p. xi.), which has been overlooked by all English writers on the *Itinerary* for the last 170 years. It is, that the letters M. P. M. preceding the numerals at the commencement of each Iter do not mean "milia passuum" as generally rendered, but "milia plus minus" (miles, "more or less"). The words of MM. Parthey and Pinder on this point (translated) are—

> To the number of miles are prefixed, in the MSS., the letters M. P. M. or M. P. That this is to be rightly explained by *milia plus minus* appears from the Itinerary of Jerusalem, which reads *leugas plus minus*. Surita, nevertheless, on the authority of a MS. in the Escurial, took pains everywhere, instead of M. P. M., to write M. P., which is the proper abbreviation for *milia passuum*. He was followed by Wesseling, who ought to have known better.

The phrase "leugas plus minus" occurs at the commencement of the *Itinerary* from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, and means so many "leagues, more or less;" and, as Mr. Davidson adds—

> at the beginning of the Itinerary of Antoninus, many of the MSS. write out full in the first and second lines the expression, "milia plus minus," which they afterwards abbreviate to "M. P. M." The point was noticed by Roger Gale, the son, in his preface to his father's posthumous work, though Dr. Gale himself seems to have been unaware of it. And Hearne, in his edition of the *Itinerary*, invariably prints "milia plus minus" at length in the headings of the Itinera. But since this date, *circa* 1710, every English writer, so far as the writer is aware, has fallen into the inaccuracy of treating these rough estimates as if they were carefully measured mile distances.

The Tenth Iter of the British portion of the *Itinerary* is thus given by MM. Parthey and Pinder—

Item a Clanoventa, Mediolano	m. p. m.	CL. *(sic)*.
Galava	m. p. m.	xviii.
Alone	m. p. m.	xii.
Calacum	m. p. m.	xviiii.
Bremetonaci	m. p. m.	xxvii.
Coccio	m. p. m.	xx.
Mancunio	m. p. m.	xvii.
Condate	m. p. m.	xviii.
Mediolano	m. p. m.	xviiii.

As to the different readings, the authors state that other MSS. give *Calava* instead of *Galava*, also *Galacum* and *Gallacum* for *Calacum;* two

* *Archæological Journal*, vol. 37, p. 316.

MSS. give *Coccio* as *Goccio*, two others as *Coctio*, and one as *Coetio;* one MS. has *Bremtonaci;* four MSS. give *Mancumo*, one *Macocunio*, and one *Mamcunio* instead of *Mancunio;* two MSS. give the total length of the Iter as CLX. instead of CL. miles; two MSS. give the distance of *Galacum* from *Alone* as XVIII. miles, one gives it as VIII. miles; five MSS. have XXIII. after *Bremetonaci* as the distance from *Calacum*, one gives the distance between the same places as XXVI. miles; one MS. gives the distance from *Coccium* to *Mancunium* as XVI. miles, another as XVIII.; one gives the distance from *Mancunium* to *Condate* as XVI. miles, another as XVIII. Finally, two MSS. give the distance between *Condate* and *Mediolanum* as XVIII. miles.

In proceeding to consider which line of Roman road is embraced in this Iter, it becomes necessary, according to the author's idea, to ascertain, if possible, the date of the *Itinerary*, for the reason that, not only in Lancashire, but all over the kingdom we find at least two classes of Roman military roads: those of the Higher Empire, most of which were made before or at the time when Hadrian erected the Northumbrian Wall, and roads which are much inferior in construction, and evidently of much later date,—perhaps some of them as late as the close of the Roman dominion. The question arises, were any of these later roads included in the *Itinerary?* and it can only be answered by knowing the date of the *Itinerary* itself.

The clue to this lies in our ascertaining which of the emperors who bore the name of Antoninus is the one whose name is given to the *Itinerary*. There were four emperors of this name, namely, Antoninus Pius, who reigned A.D. 138—161; Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, A.D. 161—180; Bassianus (the son of Septimius Severus, better known as Caracalla), who took the names of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, A.D. 212—217; and Elagabalus, who took the same names as Caracalla, A.D. 218—222.

That it was the earliest of these emperors (Antoninus Pius) after whom the *Itinerary* was named, I think seems certain from the following facts:—The wall built in his reign, between the Forth and Clyde, by order of Lollius Urbicus (of which I have already spoken) appears, from an inscription by the first cohort of the Cugerni, found at Ingliston, to have been erected in his third consulate, which title extended over the years A.D. 140—144. It was probably built in the first-named year, and from that time would form the boundary or *limes* of the Roman dominion in Britain. But the *limes* which is given in the *Itinerary* is, on the western side of Britain, Middleby *(Blatum Bulgium)*, in Dumfriesshire, and on the eastern, High Rochester *(Bremenium)*,

in Northumberland. From this we gather that the *Itinerary* was compiled before the Scotch Wall was built, and as this compilation could not take place before the reign of Antoninus Pius, the issue is narrowed to between A.D. 138—the year in which this emperor ascended the throne—and A.D. 140. I am aware it may be argued that the *limit* given is possibly that which existed subsequent to the withdrawal of the Roman forces from Scotland, when Caracalla suddenly made peace with the *Meatae*, in order to return to Rome; but I think we have evidence which disproves that hypothesis. MM. Parthey and Pinder hold the opinion that Caracalla was the emperor whose name was given to the *Itinerary*, and Mr. Davidson seems to agree with them, for he says :—

> Compiled as the *Itinerary* was from the accumulated notes, preserved at Rome, of military commanders, beginning possibly with Julius himself, and published probably by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, afterwards surnamed Caracallus (son of Septimius Severus, our British Roman wall builder), it did not remain a stereotyped work. That it was altered from time to time is proved by the occurrence in it of such names as Diocletianopolis, Maximianopolis, Constantinopolis. To such alterations may perhaps be attributed the differences between the summaries of miles and the sums of the station distances. The inference is tolerably plain, that it was a document in constant use, subject to revision from time to time.*

To my mind it seems evident that if the *Itinerary* was only compiled in the reign of Caracalla, the station at Netherby, north of the wall, would have been given in it under another name than *Castra Exploratorum* (the camps of the *Exploratores)*. This station, from an inscription found in it of the time of Hadrian, appears to have been erected in the reign of that emperor. Is it likely that it bore that name, when all southern Scotland, to the Forth and Clyde, was studded with Roman stations and traversed by Roman roads? But if the *Itinerary* was compiled in the reign of Antoninus Pius, this name exactly suits; for *Castra Exploratorum*, and its more western neighbour, *Blatum Bulgium*, were the advanced posts in front of the Wall of Hadrian. Again, if compiled in Caracalla's reign, it is almost certain that the roads, with the names of the stations on them, between the two walls, would be given, even if the district had been abandoned; but not a trace of such information occurs.

Another argument is the omission of several very large and important stations in the *Itinerary*, though the Itinera name all other stations on the same lines of road. For instance, in the First Iter, between *Bremenium* and *Corstopitum*, there is a most important station at Risingham, which (with the

* *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii., p. 318.

single exception of Maryport) has yielded more inscriptions than any other Roman station in Britain, but it is not named, although several inscriptions found there are of the reign of Caracalla and of Septimius Severus, his father. Why, when of such importance in the time of Caracalla, is it not named in the *Itinerary*, if the latter was compiled by order of that emperor? The answer is, that although the station was erected prior to the reign of Severus, it was not in existence when the *Itinerary* was compiled *(circa* A.D. 140). Two other very large stations, Lanchester and Pierse Bridge, occur on the line of this Iter, the first between *Vindomora* and *Vinovium*, the second between *Vinovium* and *Cataractonium*, but the *Itinerary* takes no notice of them, and no doubt for the same reason.

A still more noticeable case appears in the Second Iter, where, between *Cataractonium* and *Lavatrae* (Bowes), there occurs a fine station at Greta Bridge, evidently built (as we gather from one of the gateway slabs), in the reign of Septimius Severus. No notice is taken of it in the *Itinerary*, which would be quite in order if the latter is of the reign of Antoninus Pius, but if it is of Caracalla, quite inexplicable, especially as the Fifth Iter, which traverses this portion of the Second, is also silent as to the station. Although I perfectly agree with MM. Parthey and Pinder, as to the Continental Itinera in the work having been altered from time to time, I cannot see that such has been the case with the British portion. If it had been so, the stations I have just named would be included, and we should also have some of the stations named in the *Notitia* list embraced in it. Out of thirty-three stations named in the latter (exclusive of the twelve identified as being on the Wall), only *ten* occur in the *Itinerary*. Such huge fortresses as *Garrianonum* (Burgh Castle) and *Anderida* (Pevensey) would hardly have been overlooked had the British portion been altered in a similar manner to the Continental one.

Having thus arrived at an approximate date as to the compilation of the *Itinerary*, we have to consider which road made during the Higher Empire is the one traversed by the Tenth Iter; and for this purpose it is necessary to quote portions of the Second Iter, and of the *Notitia Imperii*, which bear upon the point.

The Second Iter of Antoninus (the longest) commences at *Blatum Bulgium*, in Dumfriesshire, and proceeds, by way of Carlisle, York, Chester, and Wroxeter, to St. Albans and London, thence to *Rutupiae* (Richborough, near Sandwich), in Kent. Between York and Chester it gives a station named in three MS. copies *Mamucium*, in others *Mamutium*, and in one *Manutium*,

which is no doubt Manchester, and the same station called *Mancunium* in the Tenth Iter, as both Iters name it as being eighteen miles from a station called *Condate* (Kinderton, near Middlewich). The difference between *Mamucium* and *Mancunium* is no greater than others that occur in other parts of the *Itinerary*. Thus, in the Fifth Iter, the intermediate station between Lincoln and Doncaster is called *Segelocum*, whilst the Eighth Iter calls it *Agelocum*. In the Fifth Iter, also, the station between York and Doncaster is called *Legeolium*, whilst in the Eighth it is called *Lagecium*. In the Sixth Iter, the station between Leicester and East Bridgeford is called *Verometum*, whilst the Eighth gives it as *Vernemetum*.

The other work named, the *Notitia Imperii*, is, as its title states, "A General Survey of the Dignities, both of the East and the West, beyond the Times of Arcadius and Honorius." As Arcadius died A.D. 408, and Honorius A.D. 423, it must have been at the commencement of the fifth century that the work was compiled. It gives a list of the Roman provinces, with the titles of the governors and of the chief civil and military dignities, a list of the forces under each, and the names of the places where they were in garrison. The first edition of it was published by Pancirollus, at Venice, in 1602, and though other editions appeared during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the best and most trustworthy is that by Dr. E. Böcking, published at Bonn (1839—1853).

This work, after giving the names of some of the Roman stations on the Roman Wall in Northumberland and Cumberland, with their garrisons, proceeds to name others in the northern counties of England, and amongst them are three—*Glannibanta*, *Alio* (or *Alionis)*, and *Bremetennacum*, generally considered to be the *Glanoventa*, *Alone*, and *Bremetonacum* of the Tenth Iter. The actual wording is this :—

> "Tribunus Cohortis primae Morinorum Glannibanta
> ——— Cohortis tertiae Nerviorum Alione
> Cuneus Armaturarum Bremetennaco." *

i.e., The tribune of the 1st cohort of the Morini at Glannibanta
The tribune of the 3rd cohort of the Nervii at Alio
The Cuneus of Armaturae at Bremetennacum.

Mancunium being the only town named in the Iter whose site was known with certainty, the clue as to the locality of the Iter had to be obtained from it,

* The earlier editions of the *Notitia* give this as *Bremetenraco.*

and as the names of the Roman towns on all the roads issuing from Manchester were well known, except those towards the north, it became evident that it was in that direction the bulk of the Iter would be found. Camden, in the 1610 edition of his *Britannia*, placed *Coccium* at Ribchester, and in this he was followed by Gale (1702), Horsley (1732), Reynolds (1799), and many others. But the distance of *Coccium* from *Mancunium*, as given in the Iter, is only seventeen miles, whilst Ribchester is thirty miles from the latter, and though a Roman road connects the two places, there is no intermediate station. It thus seems certain that the direct road between the two places is not the one named in the Iter. By placing *Coccium* at Ribchester, all the above-named authors found that they were wrong in their distances as regarded the other stations, the sites of which they accordingly guessed, each in conformity with some favourite theory. The table which I append at the close of this chapter, copied from a paper by Mr. Gordon M. Hills, in *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xxxvii., will shew the variety of the views entertained. Many others might be added, but those given are sufficient for the purpose.

There is, however, another fine Roman road leading from Manchester to Wigan (which I shall describe in my chapter on the roads). Its existence was not known until the last century, when the Rev. J. Whitaker described a small portion of it as far as Worsley, but he there lost sight of it, and considering as the original a small branch which it throws off, he made it lead to Blackrode. The road averages thirteen yards in width, and has been paved. At Wigan evidences of a Roman station have of late years accumulated, and its distance from Manchester, by the Roman road, almost exactly agrees with the *Itinerary* distance of *Coccium* from *Mancunium*. Wigan therefore seems undoubtedly to be the former station. From Wigan a Roman road, also about thirteen yards wide, runs northward through Standish to Walton, where it crosses the Ribble, and, about two-and-a-half miles further on, near Fulwood, falls at nearly right angles upon a large road, leading from the Fylde to Ribchester, and thence into Yorkshire. From this point of junction, the original road has been at some later period continued to Lancaster, for it is of inferior construction.* And the Iter has consequently passed over the east and west road for the next six miles into the station at Ribchester. The distance of the latter station from Wigan, by this route, is *twenty-two* English miles, and the *Itinerary* makes the

* Whitaker, *Hist. Richmondsh.*, vol. ii., p. 213.

distance between *Coccium* and *Bremetennacum* as *twenty* miles, "more or less." This fact would of itself be satisfactory evidence as to Ribchester, but, fortunately, we have further proof. A fine inscribed altar, discovered in the sixteenth century, was erected by the Sarmatian cavalry (of whom we find other traces here), styled the "Bremetennacensian," and it is in my opinion very probable, owing to several errors which occur in the *Notitia*, that the title of *Cuneus Armaturarum*, which occurs in the latter work, should be *Cuneus Sarmatarum*, which would be in conformity with the lapidary evidence.* But leaving this, the agreement of distance from Wigan on the one hand, and from Overborough (as I shall shew immediately) on the other, combined with the title of "Bremetennacensian" assumed by the regiment, seems very clearly to prove that Ribchester is the *Bremetonacum* of the Tenth Iter, and the *Bremetennacum* of the *Notitia*.

Proceeding still northwards, along a road undoubtedly of the Higher Empire, we come to a Roman station, situated at the junction of the river Lone (or Lune), with a stream called the Lac, twenty-six miles from Ribchester, thus corresponding with the *Itinerary*, which makes the distance of *Bremetonacum* from *Galacum* twenty-seven Roman miles, "more or less." Camden in the earlier editions of his *Britannia* was the first to suggest that the station might be *Galacum*, which he did from the name of the river (Lac). He considered that it had been part of the word *Galacum*, as we find numerous other instances of a river preserving the name of a station.

Passing the county boundary, and proceeding still northwards, on a continuation of the same Roman road, we come to a Roman *castrum* at Borrowbridge, portions of the walls of which are still standing, and where various discoveries have been made. It is about four acres in extent, and is situate at the junction of a stream called the Borrow with the Lone, at *eighteen* miles from Overborough—the *Itinerary* giving us *nineteen* miles, "more or less," as the distance of *Alone* from *Galacum*. Etymology here again comes to our assistance. The name of the river (Lone), and the name of the hundred derived from it (Lonsdale), &c., combined with the agreement of distance, are proofs that we have here the *Alone* of the Tenth Iter, and, as I think, the *Alio* (or *Alionis*) of the *Notitia*. No inscriptions mentioning the garrison of the last-named station, the third cohort of the *Nervii*, have been found here, but that this cohort was stationed on the line of road we are pursuing, we shall see directly.

* See my paper on "The Roman Forces in Britain," in *Proceedings at Evening Meetings of London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, 1873. The late Mr. Hodgson Hinde had also come to the same conclusion.

The walls of this station are nine feet thick, the lower portions of them standing buried in the rubbish which has fallen from above, but on the western side the wall, stripped of its facing stones, still stands eight or nine feet high. The *Praetorian* and *Decuman* gates and the fosse are very distinct. Part of a hypocaust, coins, and a quantity of pottery have been turned up, but the area has never been excavated, and lies buried in its own rubbish. The remains of the abutment of a bridge, supposed to be Roman, crossing the Borrow, is visible to the north of the station, and the Roman road is traceable just beyond it, pointing towards Kirkby Thore. This is the only other road which is known to issue from the station, and though its direction is right, Kirkby Thore is about sixteen English or nearly seventeen Roman miles distant from Borrowbridge, and the *Itinerary* distance is only twelve between *Alone* and *Galava*. It is here the only real discrepancy occurs, and it has probably arisen from some early copyist of the document omitting the numeral v., *i.e.*, putting XII. for XVII. He would then find himself wrong in his total mileage, and, instead of putting CLV., made it CL., as it has come down to us.

The station at Kirkby Thore has been a very important one. Its ramparts and the foundations of its walls are yet plainly visible; a large number of inscriptions, coins, sculptures, &c., have been found. It is situated a little to the north-east of the point where the "Maiden Way," on which it is situated, crosses the route of the Second and Fifth Iters of Antonine, between Carlisle and Brough, though it is not on the latter road. There is little or no doubt of its being the *Galava* of the *Itinerary*. Leaving the station and proceeding northwards along the "Maiden Way," at about sixteen-and-a-half English or between seventeen and eighteen Roman miles, we come to the celebrated station at Whitley Castle, near Alston. The distance named in the *Itinerary* as that between *Galava* and *Glanoventa* is eighteen miles, "more or less," so that the distance is identical, and thus we find the latter station, the *Glannibanta* of the *Notitia*, at Whitley Castle. This fortress is a large one, containing nine acres, and it is the first one on the "Maiden Way," which lies south of the wall. Being situated on level ground, it has on its least-protected side (the western) seven ditches and ramparts, and on the northern side four. It has never been excavated, and is filled with ruins. Several inscriptions have been found, amongst them one dedicated to Caracalla, in his fourth Consulship, A.D. 213—217, by the third cohort of the *Nervii*. As the *Notitia* places this

cohort at *Alio* (or *Alionis*), some antiquaries have considered Whitley Castle to be that station, but this one inscription, without corroborative evidence of the names of the neighbouring stations, is totally insufficient for the purpose of identification. Acting on this basis, we might place the *Vindolana* of the *Notitia* at Risingham, when we know well it was at Chesterholm. It is, however, right to state that no inscription naming the first cohort of the *Morini*, which garrisoned the *Glannibanta* of the *Notitia*, has been found at this station; but that is probably owing to non-excavation.

Having thus traced the Iter from Manchester to its starting point, it is necessary to say a few words on the two stations named in it which are south of the former place. As the Second Iter shews us that *Condate* was the intermediate station between Manchester and Chester, and was situate at eighteen miles from the former, and twenty from the latter, we must take the route of the only Roman road (which is also of the Higher Empire) running in that direction. Eighteen miles along this will bring us to Northwich, where this road, which has taken a south-westerly course, is joined by one coming eastwards from Chester, and another coming southwards from the station at Wilderspool, near Warrington. In the *Archæological Journal*,* the author has thus spoken of Northwich :—

There should, according to the plan generally adopted by the Romans, have been a considerable station at this point, but that is not the case; just sufficient remains, such as funeral urns, coins, &c., have been found, to testify to the existence of a small outpost, but nothing that would indicate the site of a station of sufficient importance to be named in both the Second and Tenth Iters. Instead of this, the station is five miles to the south at Kinderton, and from the point where the three roads meet, there starts a grand wide road, far wider than either of them, called the Kind Street, or Broadway, which runs into it, and from it in turn issue a number of other roads. Now, it must be borne in mind that the Second Iter is aiming for Chester *(Deva)*; if, therefore, its author had traced it to Northwich, then into Kinderton, from Kinderton again to Northwich, and then on to Chester (this being the only route available), he would have twice gone over the five miles between Kinderton and Northwich. This error he avoids. He first stops short at Northwich, which, to use modern railway phraseology, would in his time be "Kinderton Junction," and then in the second place he gives the exact distance, *i.e.*, twenty miles, which, anyone going from *Condate* (Kinderton) to *Deva* (Chester) would have to traverse; for the distance from Northwich to Chester, along the Roman road, is fifteen miles.

In Gough's Camden's *Britannia*,† it is said, concerning the Kind Street,—

For from Middlewich to Norwich runs a noble road, raised with gravel to such a height as

* Vol. xxx., p. 154.

† Edit. 1789, vol. ii., p. 425.

easily to be known for a Roman work, gravel being very scarce all over these parts, and, therefore, now carried from this road to private houses.

The Bishop of Cloyne* confirms the destruction of this road by the removal of the gravel, and says, "little of it now remains except its ancient straight line and name." It thus exists at the present day.

The station at Kinderton is ten acres in extent, bounded on the north side by the river Dane, and on the west by the river Croco. The confluence of these two rivers is at the north-west angle, and they served as a defence to the north and west sides, obviating the necessity of a fosse; but there is a fosse plainly visible on the south and east sides. In levelling and ploughing, coins and Samian ware have been found, but no excavations have taken place, though, in several surface diggings the ground has been ascertained to be full of fragments of Roman pottery, thus shewing that many remains might be discovered by systematic excavations. The name *Kinderton* seems evidently a corruption of *Condate-ton*, as at Ciren-cester, the ancient *Corinium*, *i.e.*, *Corin-cester*.

The remaining station of the Iter, *Mediolanum*, has long been a puzzle to antiquaries, who have selected various sites for it, as the annexed table† will shew. In the Second Iter, it is placed between Chester *(Deva)* and Wroxeter *(Uriconium)*, at thirty miles from the former place, and twenty-three from the latter, with an intermediate station on each side of it, *Bovium* at ten miles from Chester, and *Rutunium* at eleven miles from Wroxeter. Horsley conjectured that it must be in North Shropshire, and every antiquary since his time has looked for it there, in the first place, but every effort has failed, chiefly through the absence of any large Roman road in that district. Many antiquaries have considered that the *Mediolanum* of the Second Iter was quite distinct from the station of that name in the Tenth, but it is most improbable that there would be two stations bearing that name, one at thirty, and the other at thirty-eight miles from Chester.

There is a station at Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyne, where five or six Roman roads meet, amongst them one from Chester, at the required distance (thirty miles), and another from Manchester, *viâ* Kinderton, agreeing in its length with the distance between *Mancunium* and *Mediolanum* (thirty-seven miles). It seems evident that the compiler of the *Itinerary* has in the Tenth Iter adopted the distance he gave in the Second as regards *Condate*,

* Lyson's *Magna Britannia*, vol. ii., pt. ii., p. 434.

† See p. 36.

and calculated the mileage from Northwich, which is eighteen or nineteen miles from Chesterton, thus agreeing with the *Itinerary*. The only other alternative is, that Northwich represents *Condate*, which would make the distance from that place to Chester five miles less than the *Itinerary* states, in addition to the Kinderton station being ignored. The Bishop of Cloyne (Dr. Bennett), who, with the Chancellor of his diocese (Rev. T. Leman), walked over nearly all the Roman roads in England, was the first to recognise Chesterton as the site of *Mediolanum*.* Strangely enough, though these antiquaries found that Chesterton represented the *Mediolanum* of the Tenth Iter, it appears from a MS. note by the Rev. T. Leman, in his copy of Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (preserved in the Institute at Bath), that they placed the *Mediolanum* of the Second Iter at Clawydd Goch, in North Wales, at the confluence of the Tanadd and Vyrnwy, quite overlooking the fact that the distance of Chesterton from Chester, along the *Via Devana*, agreed with that between *Deva* and *Mediolanum* in the Second Iter. But as this station is almost the only one in the Iter whose site now provokes discussion, and as I have fully described the portion of the Iter which passes through Lancashire, I leave the question of the site of *Mediolanum*,† to consider other matters relating more nearly to the subject of this work.

The late Mr. Hodgson Hinde, in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, November 5th, 1851, was the first to place *Bremetonacum* at Ribchester, which he did on the authority of the inscription before mentioned; but he appears to have had no knowledge of the station at Wigan, or of the Roman roads connecting it with Manchester and Ribchester, and thus he was puzzled as to the site of *Coccium*. His words are‡ :—

> As we do not know that *Coccium* lay in a direct line between *Mancunium* and *Bremetonacum*, the actual distance of thirty-one Roman miles between Manchester and Ribchester§ does not ill correspond with the *Itinerary* distance of thirty-seven.

Mr. Hinde also could not recognize the site of *Galava;* but had he identified both it and *Coccium*, he would have solved the mystery surrounding the Iter. It was in 1870 that the present writer, by identifying Kirkby Thore with *Galava*, and Wigan with *Coccium*, succeeded in bringing the distances

* *Magna Britannia*, vol. ii., p. 433; and vol. v., p. 213.

† In my paper "On the Site of Mediolanum," *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxx., pp. 153—173, I have entered at length into this subject.

‡ *Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1851, p. 641.

§ He is here referring to the direct road, not that *via* Wigan.

into harmony, and confirming the identifications by etymology and inscriptions. This result was published in vol. xxviii. of the *Archæological Journal*, pp. 109—132, and is the groundwork of this chapter. During the last twelve years these identifications have been acquiesced in by most antiquaries; though two exceptions have to be noticed. The first is a paper by the Rev. Dr. Hooppell,* who takes a different track from all other writers, making the Iter commence at South Shields, which he considers *Glanoventa*, and placing *Mediolanum* "somewhere to the east of Malpas," in Cheshire. The other exception is in Mr. Gordon M. Hills's paper "On the Measurements of Ptolemy and of the Antonine Itinerary."† Mr. Hills makes the Iter to commence at the modern town of Penrith *(not* the station at "Old Penrith," some miles distant), and to terminate at Chesterton, as I do. He considers the *Mediolanum* of the Second Iter to be quite distinct from that of the Tenth, but he carries the Iter into Yorkshire, and ignores Ribchester as a station upon it, yet agreeing with me as to Wigan representing *Coccium*.

With one other reference I conclude this chapter. In a paper on "Coventina," (a goddess worshipped in Northumberland, in Roman times,) read on 8th January, 1879, before the Newcastle-on-Tyne Society of Antiquaries, Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe alludes to Mr. Hinde's Paper, and further throws out the suggestion (nine years after I had published the identification) that *Galava* was represented by Kirkby Thore. His attention appears subsequently to have been directed to my paper on the Tenth Iter, for it is evidently in allusion to it that he thus writes :—

> *P.S.*—Just as I deemed it fit to prefix certain sentences to my original paper, I deem it right to say, as an appendix, that as an out-of-the-way writer on *Coventina* and *Glanoventa*, I was not aware of some western labours partly bearing upon the appropriation of *Glanoventa* and *Galava*. The *Gentleman's Magazine* was a most useful publication for antiquaries at large, before the societies and archæologia, and tracts and journals, and rival magazines, and "notes and queries," and papers, and speeches and lectures, which have destroyed it, were invented. I have to bend to the miserable result, and seek for needles in numerous bottles of hay as best I can. With Mr. Hinde's first thought in placing *Glanoventa* on our northern Venta at Whitley Castle, I agree, and from its exceptional circumstances I take it that no more interesting excavation could take place than that of the singular station so called. The suggestions that *Coccium* is at Wigan, and that *Brovonacae* is at Brougham‡ deserve careful consideration, and

* *Jour. of the Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*, vol. xxxvi.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xxxvii., p. 397.

‡ This suggestion was made by the author, *Arch. Jour.*, vol. xxviii., p. 110 (1871).

their acceptance, if justifiable, would remove difficulties. I regret very much that Mr. Just's intended survey of the Kirkby Thore district has not been made,* and I think it is my wisest course not to disturb my cautious language. †

I am at a loss to understand this statement of Mr. Longstaffe's. Does he mean to infer that the old series of the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Archæologia Aeliana* (Newcastle Soc's. Trans.) are the best authorities on Roman matters, and superior to the *Archæological Journal?* As regards the *Gentleman's Magazine*, there is little doubt that had the editors chosen to maintain its former character it would have remained to the present day, in spite of its numerous competitors, a receptacle for archæological essays and reports of discoveries. Mr. Longstaffe ought rather to rejoice at the many new modes that have been "invented" to bring to light archæological truth. There is plenty of room for them all, and with the aid of good indices any antiquary can extract from them everything that may bear upon his special branch of archæological study.

* See *Arch. Jour.*, vol. xxviii., p. 122, where I have alluded to this.

† I have taken the above postscript from the *Newcastle Daily Journal*, January 10, 1879, where Mr. Longstaffe's paper appeared at full length. The paper was subsequently printed in the *Archæologia Aeliana*, vol. viii. (N.S.), but the postscript is omitted, thus suggesting that Mr. Longstaffe was the first to place *Galava* at Kirkby Thore (in 1879).

TABLE SHOWING THE OPINION OF VARIOUS AUTHORS ON THE TENTH ITER.

Modern Names and Distances in Roman Miles, ascertained from Ordnance Map.

By Gordon M. Hills.

Roman Names and Distances.	Camden, edit. 1610.	Gale, 1702.	Horsley, 1732.	Reynolds, 1799	Just, 1853	Watkin, 1870.*
Glanoventa	The Wentsbeck, at Bothall, Northumberland	Anterchester, Northumberland, in Glendale	Lanchester, Durham	Cockermouth, Cumberland	Whitley Castle.	Whitley Castle
xviii.	25	32	24	12	16	16
Galava	Walwick, on the Roman Wall	Walwick	Old Town	Keswick	Kirkby Thore	Kirkby Thore
xii.	20	20	11	17	17	17
Alone	Whitley Castle	Whitley Castle	Whitley Castle	Ambleside	Borrowbridge, in Lonsdale	Borrowbridge
xix.	16	16	18	13	17	17
Galacum	Kirkby Thore, Westmoreland	Kirkby Thore	Appleby	Kendal	Overborough	Overborough
xxvii.	33	33	30	21	13	27†
Bremetonacis ‡..	Overborough, Lancashire	Overborough	Overborough	Lancaster	Lancaster	Ribchester
xx.	27	27	27	22	22	24
Coccio	Ribchester	Ribchester	Ribchester	Ribchester	Ribchester	Wigan
xvii.	28	28	28	28	28	17
Mancunio	Manchester	Manchester	Manchester	Manchester	Manchester	Manchester
xviii.	23	23	18	24	—	24
Condate	Congleton, Cheshire	Congleton	Near Northwich	Middlewich	Not named	Kinderton, near Middlewich
xviii.§	62	38	27	20	—	14‖
Mediolano	Llanvethlin, Montgomery-shire	Meivod	Drayton, Salop	Whitchurch, Salop	Not named	Chesterton
Totals, Roman Miles.. } cl.	234	217	183	157	—	156

* Mr. Hills gives the date as 1873. My paper on this subject was, however, communicated to the Royal Archæological Institute in May, 1870, and published in the *Archæological Journal* for 1871.

† This is given by Mr. Hills as 29 miles in the original, though in the first three columns the distance between the same places is given as 27 miles, which is correct. I have altered it accordingly. He also makes the distance between Kirkby Thore and Overborough, in the same column, as 34 miles (owing to the intervention of Borrowbridge), but in the first two columns it is given as 33 miles.

‡ The old reading is given here. MM. Parthey and Pinder give the reading BREMETONACI.

§ The distance is given by MM. Parthey and Pinder as xviiii. miles instead of xviii., the greatest number of MSS. thus having it. This will make the total agree with the items of which it is composed.

‖ Mr. Hills gives this as 17 miles, but if he will again examine the Ordnance Map he will find that it is not more than 14 Roman miles by the Roman road; the *Itinerary* evidently counting the miles from Northwich. This, with the alterations named above, makes the total 155 miles.

CHAPTER III.

The Roman roads of the county, now to be considered, are comparatively numerous, but the task of tracing them is a difficult one. The great progress of agriculture, and the formation of canals, railways, &c., have almost obliterated, in a great portion of the county, the last vestiges of these roads. If, nearly two hundred years ago, antiquarians found them difficult to trace, what must the antiquary of the present day have to contend with, when endeavouring to connect their disjointed fragments? The last fifty years have been especially destructive to remains of this nature. It is therefore evident that we must rely upon earlier writers for a great portion of our information regarding them.

At the outset, therefore, I must state that the authors to whom we are chiefly indebted, and from whom I shall chiefly quote, are the Rev. J. Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, who speaks of the roads as he found them 120 years ago; the late Rev. E. Sibson, of Ashton-in-Makerfield, whose treatise on three of the Roman roads of the county was published in the 1836 edition (vol. iii.) of *Baines' History of Lancashire;* and the late John Just, Esq., of the Grammar School, Bury, who contributed several papers upon the Roman roads of the county to the *Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*, and also two papers to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.* To these I propose to add observations of my own, resulting from personal inspection.

The greatest centre of Roman roads in the county was at Manchester. From this station no less than six (if not seven) roads issued, two of them at a short distance from Manchester, throwing off other branches. These roads I propose to take first in order. The chief one is that leading to Wigan, which forms part of the route of the Tenth Iter of Antoninus. In speaking of this road, the Rev. J. Whitaker, in his *History of Manchester*,† says:—

> The road to *Coccium* or Blackrode [he erroneously concluded this place to be *Coccium*] did not commence immediately from the Castle Field. It might have begun at the south-western angle

* Vols. i. and iii. of *Transactions*.

† Vol. i., p. 154.

of it, have swept over the peninsula of Hulme Field, crossed the Irwell at the point of the meadow, and stretched away for Walkden Moor. And this would have been the most direct line of the road. But it was prevented by the badness of the morass betwixt Hulme Field and the station, and the prudence of retaining so useful a guard to the latter. And the road to Blackrode *actually began with the way to Kinderton, and proceeded with it for more than a mile.*

He then makes it pass the Irwell at Old Trafford, and takes it on to Hope Hall. Would any one think that Whitaker was here only *imagining* the course of the road? Yet this is the truth, as he himself admits (and subsequent researches have proved the same), for a few lines further on he says :—

But in all this course, from the river to the hall, *the road is wholly invisible,* and the remains that begin at the latter, and extend for two miles together, are the only arguments of its course.

Happily, its course from Castle Field to Hope Hall has since been traced more correctly, and, as usual, the road is found to be a straight one.

The Rev. E. Sibson, in the *Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester,** says :—

Meeting Mr. Henry Still, of the Ordnance Survey, and Mr. Peter Clare of Manchester, when men were employed by Lord Francis Egerton in exploring the Roman Station at Castle Field [*circa* 1832. W. T. W.], Mr. Clare was asked if he knew of any intelligent person who had turned his attention to the old roads in that neighbourhood. Mr. Clare immediately named Mr. Thomas Groome, of Regent Road, in Salford, and said that Mr. Groome had lived in the neighbourhood more than fifty years, and that he was well acquainted with all the old roads. On going to Mr. Groome, he immediately showed us the track of the Roman road running in a straight line for nearly two miles, and pointing directly across Woden's Ford to the Castle Field.

From the MS. collections of Mr. Thomas Barritt (the Manchester antiquary of the last century), we derive some particulars as to this Woden's Ford. He states that it is said in an old writing that—

Woden's Ford is a paved causeway across the river Irwell, from Hulme Field, where the Medlock loses itself in the aforesaid river, to the opposite bank, but now lost to the observer since the Irwell was made navigable.

The prefix of "Woden's" was evidently given to the ford in Saxon times. Mr. Sibson continues (p. 537) :—

The Roman road as pointed out by Mr. Groome was seen very distinctly, with its broad ridge of gravel and stones, on the south side of Regent Road, in the first field on the west side of Ordsall Farm. These remains of the Roman road were found here by Mr. Groome fifty years ago. The road was found again by the gravel at the west end of Hodge Lane, near the brook. . . . . On the north side of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, close to

* Vol. vii., 2nd series, p. 536.

Gorton Bridge (which crosses the line), at the ditch on the west side of the foot road, the Roman road from Manchester divides into two branches. . . . . The branch to Wigan points past Broom House to Hope Hall. The Roman road is found again in the ditch on the north-west side of the lane, leading from Foster's Wood to the Land of Nod, and there is here a large quantity of gravel. The road is found again in a grassy lane, leading out of Weaste Lane, nearly opposite to Weaste Lodge, where the gravel and ridge of the road are very visible. By taking this slightly curved direction, the road skirts along the edge of Hart Hill, and thus keeps nearly on level ground.

It is necessary to give these particulars fully, as the road is now, owing to building, &c., almost, if not entirely, obliterated in this locality. Whitaker also traced it "along the foot of Hart's Hill Brow." Hart's Hill is now known as "Hope Hill," as the brow in Eccles Old Road is just opposite Hope Hall. As a confirmation of the correctness of these authors, it may be stated that in January, 1880, the workmen employed in widening the railway between Eccles and Manchester came across the remains of the road where it crosses the railway at Weaste, between the Derby-road and Langworthy-road Bridges. The road crosses the railway at an angle of about fifteen degrees, and was visible along the side of the latter as a thin line of gravel about fifty yards in length. Its stones had apparently been removed on account of their proving obstacles to the plough. The western end of the platforms of the new station at Seedley, at Langworthy-road Bridge, now stand where the road crosses the railway, and have hidden it from view. Gorton Bridge is now known as Derby-road Bridge. From Seedley Station the road points direct to Weaste Parsonage, which must stand upon it, and its gravel is seen where it crosses Weaste Lane, a little below Hope Hill. Weaste Lane is the road which leads from Hope Hall to Weaste Station, and the Roman road cuts it at nearly right angles. The road then crossed "Broomhouse Lane," now known as the portion of Eccles Old Road extending from Broom House to Gilda Brook. It then enters the Hope Hall estate; and Whitaker says of it at this point:—

It first slanted along the side of Dovehouse Croft, has been there turned up by the plough, and appeared to be seven yards in breadth.* And it is next discovered in the field which is beyond the Old Hope Hall, and denominated the Upper Broad Hope, by the gravel below the surface, and in the next or Lower Broad Hope, by the long ridge above it. The seam of the gravel is a proof of the road, as the ground is all naturally clay; and the course of the ridge is very evident to the eye.

The ridge had disappeared from the Lower Broad Hope when Mr. Sibson

* At p. 157 (vol. i.) Whitaker says this fragment was paved with large boulders.

surveyed the road in 1836, but in 1843 the road was found by Mr. John Goodwin, the farmer of the estate, in cutting a drain. According to Whitaker,—

> In the next or Little Brook Field, when the ground is ploughed, the gravel appears very thick upon the furrows, and still more so at the extremity of the ground and on the brink of the water.

This account until lately held good, and probably still does so, if the ground has not been of late years built upon. It was on the north-west side of this field that the road crossed the small brook called Gilda, or, as some of the old Eccles township books call it, "Gillow Brook." Whitaker continues :—

> The road here leaving the Hope Hall estate, and entering the Heath Fields, the gravel is easily discovered by the spade in the first of them, as it crosses the corner of it. And in the second the ridge appears again, but much greater and very large, extending ten or twelve yards in width, and having a fall on either side. Passing through an angle of the third, the elevation continues still evident, but reduced in the fourth and fifth, rises to a very considerable height in the sixth, and retains it in Heath Lane and the field beyond it. In the last it appears equally green and dry for twelve or thirteen yards in width, and is skirted by a border of rushes in the wet ground of either side. But at the extremity of this, in the next or Toad Hill Field, and in that beyond both, it entirely disappears, and the road is found only by the spade, in the hither end of the second and at the further of the third enclosure, and by the gravel which it discovers lying upon the natural soil. And here the ridge seems to have been taken away by the farmers, and the materials of it dispersed with an equal hand over a part of the sloping ground on the right.

In 1836 Mr. Sibson found the track of the road in these fields but very little deteriorated from what it was in Whitaker's time. But by 1844 all that was *above* the surface had been destroyed, with the exception of the fragment crossing Heath Lane, which still remained a broad ridge of earth and gravel. In the Toad Hill Field the road was found six inches below the surface, and was also visible in the drains by the gravel. It is still occasionally found by digging. There can be little or no doubt that the road from Blackrode fell into that from Wigan somewhere in this neighbourhood, but the point of junction has not been ascertained.

Mr. Sibson, in 1844, found the road by the gravel in the Calf Hey, near Chorlton Fold ; and Whitaker says of it in this neighbourhood :—

> Crossing the next close and the lane, it points through Chorlton Fold and the land beyond it to a second lane. It there enters the Westwood Fields, and appears again with a small ridge ascending the slope of the second enclosure, and pointing to a large oak tree upon the furzy summit of it. And at that tree and in the adjoining field the gravel is very evident, lying thick upon the road, and spreading several yards in width. It crosses the second close of Mr. Bailey in a plain ridge, and the first of Mr. Watson in a plainer. Losing its elevation at

this end of Mr. Watson's second field, it recovers it with an addition at the other. But in the next, or Mr. Blomiley's, the gravel appears along all the three closes, lying in a tall ridge of ten or twelve yards in width.

Commenting upon this, in 1844, Mr. Sibson says :—

Almost every trace of this road has disappeared in the Westwood Fields. In Elias Chadwick's second field, which was formerly Mr. Watson's second field, it was found by the gravel in the ditch on the west side of the field by Mr. James Richardson, of Ashton-in-Makerfield. The road is found again by the gravel and boulders in the corner of one of Mr. Blomiley's fields at the junction of the Synsley Brook* and the Brookside Brook. And the ridge of the road is very visible in the next field, called the Clough Croft, pointing to a large ash tree near the gate, where it was found by one of Lord Francis Egerton's gamekeepers, when he was digging for rabbits.

Though in some parts subsequently destroyed, Mr. Sibson's account of the road at this point still remains correct. In 1862, when the Eccles and Wigan railway was being made, a portion of it was laid bare, about a foot below the surface, a little to the north-west of the "Seven Pits," in a field north of the Westwood Gardens. The gravel is described as being "light-coloured, firm, and compact," and the road appeared to have been "*at least* seven yards in breadth."†

The "Brookside Brook" named by Mr. Sibson is now unknown in the neighbourhood. It was probably a small stream which has disappeared by draining operations. Synsley is now spelt "Sindsley." The spot where the road was found at Seven Pits is situate about the distance-signal on the Manchester side of the Worsley railway station.

At this stage of his work, Whitaker falls into an error. He continues the road through the Brookside estate, by Drywood House to Shaving Lane, or "Shaving Street," about half a mile beyond it, and makes it point for Blackrode. We have, therefore, no further account of the direct road from his pen ; and, strange to say, at this point he also ceases tracing the road to Blackrode—about twenty lines sufficing for his conjectures as to its route.

For the actual course of the road we are indebted to Mr. Sibson, who found it again by the gravel in the bank of the cutting of the tram road on the south-west side of Drywood, and traced it in the same straight line to the Cross Field, where it was a little below the surface and closely paved. Here it is still found (1880) in the same condition, and in a dry summer may at once be

* There is a paved causeway across this brook, where the road fords it. † *Gent. Mag.*, March, 1862.

detected by the "burnt-up" appearance of the ground. It crosses the mill dam at Worsley, and passes nearly midway between St. Mark's Church and the vicarage.

Lord Francis Egerton's workmen, in making a drain, found the road again a little to the west of Worsley Old Hall, in Big Lady Hill Field, and Mr. Sibson further says,—

> The road is found again in Bushy Hill Field, on the north side of Wrenswood, crossing a line of old oak trees which have stood in a hedgerow. The cop and the hedge have been lately taken away; but they had been set, as old hedges generally were, upon the Roman road, and they had preserved it both from the spade and the plough. The road is here quite perfect, it is closely paved with large stones, and it has a smooth flat surface.

This fragment was one of the most perfect on the whole line of the road, but was soon much defaced. Several persons who saw it, on its first discovery, aver that the ruts caused by the wheels of vehicles were plainly distinguishable.

The road was next found in the ditch near the junction of two foot roads, on the west side of Randswood or Wrenswood Field, and again in an old lane, called Cooke's Lane, where it was paved with large stones and very perfect. It next occurred in the field called Big Woodheys, where the line of gravel was very visible in the ditch. After this, it appears to have passed through Walker's Wood, and crossed the little stream called the Ellen, the ground being sloped away to allow it to pass the stream. The modern road through the wood is on its site. It then reaches Mosely (or Mawdesley) Common, not far from the "Old Brick House," where it was found in 1831, presenting a ridge about sixty yards in length, which, when cut into, shewed (under a coating of grass of a very pale green) a foot of yellow gravel mixed with sand, and beneath it a bed of large flat blocks of yellow-coloured freestone. The natural peat was under this, and as soon as cut into, the water boiled up to the level of the road. By 1844, the ridge was nearly levelled; but the track was lately found close to this point, when removing the turf, by the line of gravel.

From this point, instead of continuing direct for Wigan, the road bears rather more northwards, in order to avoid the hill on which Cleworth Hall and Tyldesley stand. It continues as a hollow way, sloping down into Sheep Lane, and this, as Mr. Sibson justly remarks, is a proof that Sheep Lane was in existence before the road. A little beyond this, in a corner of "Further Wood Field," on the north side of Sheep Brook, it is again visible, partly as a slight ridge, and partly by a track of gravel, on each of which the grass is of a much paler colour than on the surrounding land. The ridge of the road, closely

paved, is next visible where it crosses Turncroft Lane, on the east side of Pan Brow, and again in the Rough Field, in Tyldesley, near Cleworth Hall, where it is formed of large pieces of white freestone, covered with gravel. The name of the field seems to signify that, until a comparatively recent period, it had been uncultivated, and this has probably preserved the road, which at this point again resumes its original direction towards Wigan, running across the Cleworth Hall estate, where it is twelve yards wide, and instead of freestone it has been paved with blue shale, which has now become a blue clay, adding to the fertility of the soil. The farmer at Cleworth Hall says that on its line either wheat or clover grow higher or stronger than on the rest of the land, and its track is plainly discovered by these means. It next appears in a field near the New Brick Barn, then on a portion of Little Shakerley Common, where a small portion of the ridge, retaining its stones, was recently in a very perfect state. It again assumes the form of a hollow way, in the Shakerley Clough sloping down to Tyldesley Brook, which it fords. Mr. Sibson says—

> It was found by Charles Gerard, when he lived at Atherton Lodge, in the field called "Big Ely," and it is still visible by the gravel at the north-west corner of this field. It was found by Mr. James Richardson, of Ashton-in-Makerfield, at the place where it crosses Chanter's Brook, in the next field beyond the "Big Ely," on the north-east side of the willow plantation. The road appears to have descended to the level of the brook; and it is indicated by a layer of large stones, of the breadth of the Roman road, imbedded in the clay on both sides of the brook.

It crosses the brook by a paved causeway, and is next found in the fields on each side of Miller's Lane, by its gravel; and in some places its stones, taken from the surface, lie strewn about. In the field on the east side of Atherton Parsonage it again occurs, and on the north-west side of the same house its ridge crosses Beefold Lane. Beyond this, in a field called Ten Acres, the cop of a hedge has been set upon the road, under which it is quite perfect. The ridge in this field is also visible, and in the ditch on the south side of the turnpike road, a little beyond, the gravel and stones are again visible. At Hutton Fold it slopes down, on the site of the present road, to the brook, in which the paved causeway still remains. On the other side, the hedge of a garden is set across its line, the ridge and stones being lately very visible. The ridge and pavement are again visible in an old lane called Cow Lane. This is on the east of Gadbury Fold, opposite the orchard. Mr. Sibson says of it here—

> The road appears to cross the Bolton railway, near the "whistle post" at Gadbury Fold. The road has deviated a little from the straight line that it might go up to the Fort, on the high ground at Gadbury Fold; and having passed Gadbury Fold, it returns again to the direct line to Wigan.

He makes the name Gadbury to mean "Good Fort." I am, however, at least doubtful whether any Roman post ever stood at this point. Examination of the ground gave no such evidence, and no coins, pottery, &c., have ever been found, so far as I could ascertain by enquiry. The traces of the road, at this point, have been much obliterated during the last few years by the increase of Atherton and Chowbent.

For a short distance I am here obliged to rely wholly on Mr. Sibson, who says (p. 551)—

> The gravel of the road is again found near a gate in the hedge of the second field beyond Gadbury Fold. The road appears to cross Lover's Lane, a little below the orchard, at Four Lane Ends in Atherton. The road is again visible where it crosses an old lane, called Small Brook Lane, a little below the New Barn. The line . . . . is again discovered by the stones and gravel in the bank in the Brook Meadow, where the road has sloped down to the brook near Dangerous Corner; and the hollow track of the road is very visible where it has sloped up the hill, from the brook to the public-house at Dangerous Corner. The Roman road crosses the present highway at Dangerous Corner, and the gravel and stones of the road are very visible near the hedge on the north side of the highway. Old Thomas Bushell, of Moss House, near Amberswood Common, was told in 1796 by Anthony Hodgkinson, who was then seventy years of age, and lived at Caer Common, that the gravel and stones of the Roman road were very visible, in his time, in the south-west corner of the field where the road to Caer Common branches off from the present highway; and Anthony Hodgkinson said that this old road went over Amberswood Common to Wigan, and that in old times it was the highway road from Manchester to Wigan and Preston. The name of Caer Common shews that there has been a fort here, on the line of the Roman road.

In spite of the name, I doubt whether any fort has ever existed at Caer Common. There is no trace of it either above or below ground, and no discoveries are recorded. The road is here on the north side of the modern road from Atherton to Hindley; but a little further on, at the Swan Inn, it crosses the modern road, being there on the south side of it. When prosecuting the Ordnance Survey, Mr. Still found the garden of the Swan Inn being trenched, and on examination discovered the road quite perfect in the trenches, buried at a depth of twenty inches below the surface. Beyond the "Swan," the gravel and stones of the road are traceable in some waste ground for a considerable distance, keeping almost parallel with the modern road. A portion of the latter, called Rotten Row, bears more to the north-west, whilst the Roman road pursues a straight line towards Wigan, the two roads not again touching each other until they arrive at that town. In almost every field in succession, for some distance, the gravel of the road is now found, in some the ridge faintly remains. Mr. Still

plainly traced it here. In a lane near Hindley Parsonage it was found to be formed of a thick layer of round stones and gravel. About 1831, the Rev. E. Hill, M.A., incumbent of Hindley, found it in a meadow on the south side of the parsonage, two feet below the surface, and composed of stones and gravel. Here again, in several fields, Mr. Still and Mr. Richardson, of Ashton-in-Makerfield, traced it, in some places two feet below the surface, until it comes to a place called "Lord Street," and just beyond is crossed by a lane called "Stony Lane." Beyond this, in the Common Close, which is the next field to Amberswood Common, the road, by its stones and gravel, was lately, and probably still is, very visible.

It was from near this point that the tracing of the whole of the road was commenced. Mr. Sibson's account of the discovery of the first fragment of it is worth recording. He says :—

> The Roman road having been traced from Warrington, through Ashton-in-Makerfield, to Wigan, and forward to Standish towards Preston, it seemed probable that there would be a Roman road from Wigan to Manchester. The name of "Lord Street" seemed to indicate the direction of this road, and considerable pains were taken to discover some trace of it, in the neighbourhood of Lord Street. After many fruitless searches and enquiries, this road was distinctly pointed out, in 1831, by old Thomas Bushell, of Moss House. He said that he and his father before him had been Common-lookers for Mr. Walmsley, of Westwood, and that both of them had frequently cut turf on the line of this old road, which runs directly over Amberswood Common, towards Wigan. He said that within his own recollection it had been much more visible than it is at present, and that much of the ridge and gravel of the road had been cut away. The line of the Roman road is, however, very visible over Amberswood Common. In many places it is fourteen yards in breadth,* the ridge of the road is broad and round, the grass on the line of it is of a paler green, and wherever it is cut into, the bright gravel of it is found in abundance. At the north end of the Common, near Common Nook, the high ridge of the road and its thick coat of gravel are very prominent.

Common Nook is about a mile and a half from Wigan. Near this, the road crosses the "Springs Branch" Railway. Ralph Thicknesse, Esq., jun., of Beech Hill, near Wigan, traced the road from Common Nook into the town. It was found by its gravel and stones in the ditch of a field beyond Amberswood Common, and in two of the coal-pit fields at Ince. Crossing Ince Lane, it passed the Leeds and Liverpool canal near the second footbridge, on the west side of the stone bridge, its ridge being very visible in the field on the north side of the canal. On the north side of the Scholes Brook, its stones were found in a drain, in a field near the old foundry. Its ridge was plainly seen as

* It is a yard in thickness at Common Nook.

it ascended the brow on the south side of the "Brick Barn House" in the Scholes, and its gravel was visible in the gardens in the Scholes, on the west side of the road from the Scholes to Plat Bridge. Its direction, when last traceable here, would bring it across the Douglas, near the bridge at the bottom of Mill Gate, where it would be pointing directly to the summit of the hill on which the central part of Wigan (including the Market-place and Church) stands.

Such was the Roman road connecting Wigan with Manchester; a fine paved causeway, averaging thirteen yards in width. It is because of its vast importance to Britanno-Roman Archæology that I have so minutely described it. Leave this road unnoticed, and we are as far off a solution of the Tenth Iter of Antonine as ever—with it, all is plain. Yet the knowledge of its existence is only fifty years old. Camden, Gale, and Horsley were completely ignorant of it. Whitaker knew it only as far as Worsley, and assumed it went to Blackrode. To Mr. Sibson the credit of tracing it fully is justly due. And even since its discovery, no one writer on the Tenth Iter (so far as I know) has recognised this road as part of it. The road from Wigan to Warrington, or from Ribchester to Manchester (direct) has invariably been chosen. The paper by the writer in 1870, on the Tenth Iter, was, I presume, the first time that this road ever figured in an archæological publication.

Of the roads which branched from this one, the first to be considered is that which led through Blackrode. Where it left the main road has not, as I before said, been ascertained, but if produced in a straight line from where the last traces of it have been found, it would apparently leave the Wigan road somewhere near Heath Lane or Chorlton Fold. The first trace we have of it is at Stanney Street, in the village of Walkden. This place is of recent formation, being erected on part of what was formerly called Walkden Moor, which the road crossed. The inhabitants pronounce the name of the road as "Staney Street." In some of the old Eccles registers it is spelt in various ways, *e.g.*, in 1684* it is written "Stanistreet," in 1689 "Standish Street," in 1691 "Standesh Street," and in 1695 "Standish Street" again. From Stanney Street it passes to Street Gate, near Peel; and at Little Hulton, between these places, it was laid bare a few years ago, when the railway was being cut, and found to be only about ten feet wide and paved. At various places between this point and "Lane Ends," some two and a half miles further to the north-west, it has been traced by

* It occurs about a century earlier in these books, under the name of "Staney Street," but the exact year is not given.

slight remains, as marked on the Ordnance map, and proceeds thence almost on the line of the present road (which is in some places upon it), through Over Hulton, Chequerbent, by Streddle Gate, West Houghton railway station, to Wingates. It has been found just beyond this, on the north-east side of the modern road, keeping parallel with it, and falling into the course of Highgate Lane, from which it points to the Castle Croft at Blackrode. Close to Blackrode, Whitaker (p. 156) says, that—

> Here it was discovered about sixteen years ago, (*i.e.*, *circa* 1757,) parallel with the present road, and at a little distance from it, lying a foot below the suface, covered with a strong crop of furzes and briars, and three yards in breadth, and eight or nine in length. . . . . The small piece of it which was laid open by the spade at Blackrode appeared to be a regular pavement, firmly jointed together, and composed of heavy stones.

Whitaker places a Roman station (which he calls *Coccium*) at Blackrode, but at the same time admits that the "Castle Croft," where he says he saw traces of ditches, is only half an acre in extent. There have been no Roman remains found here, though there may possibly have been a small exploratory post.

Mr. Sibson (Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire*, 1st edit., vol. iii., p. 586), says—

> It appears probable that this narrow road has run forward from Blackrode by Street Fold and Water Street, near Rivington, and by White Hough in Tockholes, to the small Roman station at Blackburn, near the new road to Preston.*

If the road took this course, it would no doubt be continued till it fell into the track, a mile and a half further on, of the Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester, but there are no traces of it in the neighbourhood. At Street Fold it would inevitably have been cut into and removed by the Rivington reservoir of the Liverpool Waterworks, before reaching which there is a place called "Windy Harbour"—a sure sign of a Roman road.† It is true that there are traces on Anglezark Moor of a small road like this, pointing in the direction named, but they are fragmentary; whilst a little to the north-west of Anglezark, near Brinscall and its neighbourhood, by the names of "Causeway House," "Windy Harbour" (a second time), "Low Arbour," &c., we have again evidences of the now invisible course of a road, which in addition to proceeding northwards, I think communicates through Pippin Street with the road from Wigan to Walton and Ribchester.

* *i.e.*, The camp at Mellor.

† I have since been informed that before it reaches this "Windy Harbour" the road was laid bare about twenty years ago, to the east of Adlington. The late Mr. Laurence Anyon, of Gorse Hall, near Heapy, also laid it bare about the same time, on his property at the western side of Anglezark Moor.

The other road, branching from the Wigan road at Gorton Bridge, has apparently gone through Camp Field, near Little Bolton, by or through the northern portion of Trafford Park to the "Street" in Barton, thence by "Street Fields," in a south-westerly direction, by Irlam, Cadishead, and near Statham, to the Roman station at Wilderspool. Coins found at Statham attest its route; but the immense mosses of Chat Moss, Risley Moss, and Carrington Moss,—which I opine are *in a great measure*, though not perhaps *entirely*, of post-Roman formation,—have completely obliterated its course. The brazen metope found in Risley Moss, and an elegant bronze colander since found in the same, are, I think, some evidence as to this; but of the part of the road which is in Cheshire I hope to treat at some future time.

As bearing upon this road, I may note a recent discovery, for the account of which I am indebted to Mr. E. Kirk, of Eccles.

In October, 1875, workmen engaged in constructing a main sewer for the Eccles and Barton-upon-Irwell Board of Health struck upon an ancient roadway about a quarter of a mile from Barton Old Hall, and in a direct line, or nearly so, with the old ford at Barton; the site of which ford is about 400 yards down stream from the present bridge. The sewer was being brought along what had formerly been a piece of forest swamp, in which the trunks of oak and other trees were found in a thick bed of vegetable matter. The old causeway, which was intersected at right angles, was about four and a half feet below the surface. The pavement was of stones about the size lately common in street footpaths. It was about eighteen feet wide, and rose bow-like about nine inches in the centre. The stones were fixed in a thick layer of sand, which rested upon a bed of brushwood laid upon the peaty matter. The sides of the pavement were supported by stakes, which had been pointed with a sharp instrument and driven into the peat. The causeway was about thirty feet west of the present highway, which is a very old one, and there is nothing in the surface to cause suspicion of a former road existing: in fact a row of old cottages stands right upon the pavement. I have a strong impression that this road is of Roman origin, but of a late period of the Empire; it is by no means the first instance we have of a deposit of brushwood forming the lower stratum of the road in peaty ground. But where does it lead to? The north-western direction would seem to point to Shaving Lane, on Walkden Moor, whilst to the south-east it seems to point to the road from Manchester to Northwich. Is it the road which crosses the latter at Cross Street? At Walkden it would undoubtedly join Staney Street. Mr. Kirk, from various *indicia*, judges that a small road

ran from Chorlton Fold, where the "Staney Street" joins the main road, to the above-named ford at Barton.

The second great road from Manchester, which is the continuation of the Tenth Iter to the south of that town, running to *Condate* (Kinderton) and *Mediolanum* (Chesterton), has briefly to be mentioned; but its course in Lancashire is a very short one, not a trace of it now being visible, from the fact of a modern road being formed upon its site. Whitaker (vol. i., p. 139) makes it to issue from the *east* gate of the station, with that to *Cambodunum*, and parting from it at a little distance, "winded along the descent to the river, and a little on this side of Cornebrook turned on the right, to gain the course which it should originally have moved." It is true that Whitaker had opportunities of examining its course, which have now passed away for ever, as the neighbourhood of the Castle Field was not then built upon; but after the experience we have had of his erroneous track of the road to Wigan, I think we are fully justified in considering this another erroneous statement. It was not the habit of the Roman road-makers to take longer routes than necessary, nor to take them in a directly opposite route from that which they were intended eventually to pursue. If the road did not go direct from the south gate of the station, which I have no doubt whatever it did, it is far more likely that it would issue from the west gate than that on the east, the former being more in a direction for its intended course. But at Cornbrook, it is certain that we are on its track. It seems almost certain that it must have been twice cut into by the Bridgewater Canal between Cornbrook and the present Blind Asylum, and that between these two points it kept between the canal and the Irwell. It proceeds thence by the Botanical Gardens to Stretford, and passing the Mersey at Crossford Bridge, enters Cheshire.

Whitaker's account of this portion of the road is as follows (pp. 139–40): —

> Passing from this point (Cornbrook) along the track of the present highway, but twisted into angles by the unequal encroachments of the enclosures upon it, it proceeded through the village of Stretford to the bridge over the Mersey. And as no appearances of the Roman workmanship can be expected along the line of the present road, so none are discoverable, I believe, on the borders of the adjoining fields. In the unvarying level of those low meadows particularly, which extend from the village to the ford, the least elevation of a road would be immediately perceived. And in the coat of river sand which covers them to a considerable depth, the smallest seam of gravel would as readily be distinguished. But no traces of a ridge appear to the eye above, and no remains of a foundation are discovered by the spade below.

The line of this road appears to have been cut into in 1821, during some

draining operations in Hulme, and three carved stones were found amongst its gravel, supposed at the time to be Roman, but from the sketch given of one of them, I think it is very doubtful whether they were of that period. I should agree with Mr. Baines in assigning a later date to them. These stones were, I believe, lately preserved in the grounds of Peel Park, Salford.*

The next road to be noticed is that from Manchester to *Cambodunum* (Slack, near Huddersfield). It has been described by several authors, amongst them Whitaker, Mr. Just, and Mr. Butterworth, in his *History of Oldham*. Whitaker traced it from the east gate of *Mancunium*, where it left the station, and close to which it was cut down from

> the surface to the base in 1765; and the materials of it lay plainly distinguished from the natural level of the ground, by the melted bricks and broken millstones which were found incorporated with them. It appeared to be constructed with a strong gravel, mingled with large boulders and fragments of rock. And the whole was about fourteen yards in breadth, and one and a half in depth.

Whitaker then traces its course over ground now built upon, across the Infirmary Lane to Ardwick, Stanley Barn, and over four fields into Ancoats Lane; but he says—

> In all this course, so contiguous to the growing town, the trace of it is wholly obliterated, though the subsequent remains sufficiently point out the line of it.

Mr. Just also traced it in this neighbourhood about 1848; for he says—

> At a point close to Manchester, near the Rochdale canal and the line of the Manchester and Leeds railway, the first indications of the road were seen.

Whitaker traces it in this neighbourhood for some distance after crossing Ancoats Lane, by Shooter's Brook and Butler's Lane, the ridge being visible all the way, in one place sixteen or seventeen yards in width, and having a depth of gravel of three-quarters of a yard, with a quarter of a yard of marl above. It is needless to say that almost all trace of it (if not all) is now obliterated here, owing to the extension of Manchester. Whitaker again traced it on to Newton Heath, where its ridge was visible for 150 yards. Mr. Just also traced it here, and so did the writer as late as 1857, the first remains he saw of it being near Cheetham Fold. Mr. Just says the Church of Newton Heath stands upon it, (I presume he means partially, for the modern road is evidently at this point upon the ancient one, as may be proved by the straightness of the course.)

* Vide *Gent. Mag.*, 1821, and *Baines' Hist. of Lancashire*, vol. ii., p 155, edit. 1836

He adds that he found traces most of the way between Newton Heath and Failsworth. In 1857 I failed to find them. If the road continued straight (as most probably it did), I should think that for a short distance the canal must be upon its site.

At Failsworth the road re-appears, a morass having been the cause of its preservation. It bears here the name of "Street," or "Street Lane," and in Whitaker's time its remains were very imposing for upwards of a mile. The subsidence of the moss, on each side of it, left the road rising considerably above the level of the surrounding ground, the ridge in no place being less than a yard and a half in height—and for seventy yards it was six yards in height. Nothing but the gravel could be found by Whitaker, so the paving must have been removed.* Mr. Butterworth says of this portion of it—

> At the eastern extremity of the township of Failsworth, the Roman road reaches the edge of a morass, and immediately presents a ridge to the eye, bearing the name of "Street."

He also says, p. 11 (edit. 1817), that this fragment—

> is the finest remain of a length of Roman road of any, I believe, in the neighbourhood of the ancient *Mancunium* . . . . it extends in a direct line, as it is always acknowledged they formed them, verging from Manchester, and for about the distance of one furlong is very apparent.

This portion is used as a lane, and other portions are still visible in the fields beyond. Whitaker, and after him Butterworth (who quotes Whitaker's words) says—

> Approaching the common of Hollinwood, and the lane turning away on the right and left, it deserts the latter and re-enters the fields, sweeping across Wulfenden's meadow, where it is frequently found ascending the little elevation of Barnfield, where it is just visible, and appearing in a plain green ridge along the rushy level of Moss Grave. And going through Mr. Kershaw's kitchen, croft, fold, and over Mr. Bent's Gatefield, it proceeds to Glodwick, where it has been found by the plough in one part, and is visible to the eye, for a great number of yards together, in another.

In 1857, I detected here and there slight remains of it in this course, as far as the Gatefield; but before it reaches Glodwick there is a fragment of it, overlooked, apparently, by both Whitaker and Butterworth, called Honey Well Lane. Some three years ago, when applied to by the officers of the Ordnance survey, I gave the opinion that this lane, from its formation and course, was a part of the road, and I believe it has since been adopted by

* Sir Henry Dryden has favoured me with drawings of sections of this portion of the road, taken in 1844. It averaged twelve and a quarter feet in height, measured about twenty feet in width at the crown, and at the base sixty. It was formed of earth, covered with gravel, which latter remained about two feet six inches in depth on the crown, and one foot eight inches thick on the sides.

them. This fragment is nearly half a mile in length. I found only slight traces between this lane and Glodwick.* Whitaker and Butterworth trace its course beyond this to the Yorkshire border, the latter saying—

> The Roman road after leaving Glodwick is seen again at the descent of the hill, and in the grounds Well'i'hole. It leaves Hey Chapel a little to the south, goes up the hill to Austerlands, (where it enters Yorkshire) and so on to Slack.

Since Butterworth wrote this, there have been many changes made in the surface of the ground in this neighbourhood, especially in 1826. In 1857, however, I could faintly trace the road to Austerlands, and from thence to "Doctor Head," where it must either have crossed or joined a road called the "Stayley Street," coming from the south, probably from Melandra Castle, though the junction is not visible. Neither Whitaker nor Butterworth notice this. Slack, the destination of this road, and where the remains of a station exist, is the *Cambodunum* of Antonine, and the road itself forms part of the Second Iter of that author. There is an intermediate station at Castleshaw, a little over the Lancashire boundary.

Another road leading from Manchester was that to Ribchester direct. Though much more visible in the time of Whitaker than in 1842, when Mr. Just wrote upon it, it is doubtful if the former is correct when he says (p. 167) that it

> issued from the station about forty-eight yards from the north-eastern angle of it, and must have passed the large hollow of the northern ditch by a bridge.

Whitaker then says it was found in two adjoining gardens, that it was a ridge five yards wide, "bordered with squarish stones at the sides, and raised into a convexity of half a yard above the ground." He traced it across "Camp Field," by Quay Street, to Hunt's Bank. It undoubtedly went to the latter place (now the site of the Victoria Station, Manchester.) Mr. Just's account† is now the most to be relied upon. This gentleman traced the road from Hunt's Bank, through Strangeways (corresponding with the modern road), past Strangeways Hall, being visible in a field just beyond—(this fragment the writer saw as late as 1851)—past Roman Road Terrace, so named from the houses standing upon it, keeping on the right of the present road, crossing the latter a little beyond Broughton Lane. It twice crosses the Bury Road in this neighbour-

* At p. 78, under the head of "Glodwick," Butterworth refers to a Mr. John Whitehead, a native of Glodwick, then dead, who "published some curious remarks on this place and a certain mound or tumulus near it, which appeared many years ago in Mr. Prescott's *Manchester Journal*." In a note, Butterworth adds—"This tumulus has been removed since then by Mr. Heap, the owner of the land."

† Vol. vii., *Trans. of Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc.* (2nd series, p. 3.)

hood, and runs on towards Prestwich, and traces of it were lately visible near the Old Hall at Pilkington. It is again visible at Higher Lane, Park Gate, past Stand Church, and keeping in the modern road through the "Dales" plantation, through the fields to the north, descends to the bank of the river Irwell, crossing it a little below its junction with the Roach, and immediately in front of Radcliffe; passing through the grounds of Radcliffe Tower, about 150 yards to the left of that building; also under the lodges and the main building of Jas. Hutchinson and Sons' print works. It then crosses both the railway and canal, and, lost for a short distance, is slightly traceable at the Caw Brook, beyond which a small fragment, almost entire, was lately remaining; by its line of gravel, it is traceable thence to Spen Moor. At this place, it is found beneath the soil by the farmer, being composed of hard gravel, seven or eight yards broad, half a yard in thickness, and about a foot beneath the surface. Here also there is a fragment nearly entire, with the exception of the pavement. Passing "Joseph Street," which takes its name from it, it is visible at a place called Starling by its line of gravel, on to "Blackburn Street," where it forms part of the present road, and the boundary between the parishes of Bury and Radcliffe. Passing on the right of Cockey Moor, through a garden, under a cottage, and a meadow beyond, it is visible where it crosses a brook by the Lower Croft print works, and at the lodge of the same place. It then passes through a field, and reaches the fold of Meadow Croft, being again slightly visible. Of this part of the road, Mr. Just relates the following anecdote :—

> The first time I traced out the remains of the Roman road near Meadow Croft, a young man, seeing me with a book in my hand, into which I inserted remarks with a pencil as I went along, followed me and the gentleman who accompanied me, and after ascertaining that we were neither surveying for a railroad line nor for levying any rate, but merely for a road that had been, he told us—"Then owd felly's reet, for he used to say ot Pack Horses com throo't fowt formerly." And who is the old man? we enquired. "Whoy, he's me feyther, an' it wur his feyther, that's my gronfeyther, ot towd him horses com atween Blackburn and Manchester." And during the last fortnight, I was informed by an old man at Meadow Croft, that in the time of his father, many portions of the agger of the Roman road were carted away, the stones for draining the meadow below, near the brook, and the gravel to the road which passes the premises. . . . . To repeated questions, what was the name of the road? . . . I was answered, "Wadling Street, it's coen Street, fur it wur paved formerly."

After leaving Meadow Croft, it is visible through the fields, till on high ground it reaches Heyt's Barn, about forty yards beyond being again visible as a large agger, which ultimately falls in with the road still called Watling Street, passing through Offyside. Watling Street keeps a straight line for

nearly two miles to the Bull's Head Inn. Here the Roman road deviates slightly to the right, preserving its straight line, and is visible through a succession of fields (though slightly), in some places fences being set upon it. Its track is then lost, until after passing the stone quarries at Edgeworth, where it is visible in the fields. Disappearing again, through the effects of cultivation, &c., it next becomes visible at Round Barn, a little beyond which it falls into the track of the present highway, and continues straight up the hill of Blacksnape, on the summit of which it is slightly on the left of the highway, many of the houses in the village standing upon it. On descending the hill, it is only visible by the line of gravel in the fields, but at Ellison Fold is slightly traceable; thence through the fields, by the white gravel line, to Harwood Fold, on the right of the highway. A little beyond this, a footpath and fence run along upon it until near Davy Field, in the farmyard and garden of which were recently very considerable remains of it. At this place it again becomes the line of the modern road, which is formed upon it, and its pavement of large stones, also the gravel, are beneath the smaller broken stones of the modern highway. With slight exceptions, the modern road keeps upon it until Lower Darwen is reached; but the ford across the Darwen is a little to the right of the newer road. It is, or lately was, visible close to the houses in Lower Darwen, which it passes through. It keeps a little to the right of the modern road from this point through the fields, in some places a slight ridge being visible, in others only the line of gravel. It passes, though obliterated upon the surface, through Grimshaw Park and into Blackburn, where Mr. Just found it visible forty years ago, about forty yards to the east of St. John's Church. The extension of Blackburn has much obliterated it to the north-west of this point. Mr. Just found it visible again, however, by a "slightly elevated white ridge in the third or fourth field from the town, and then as a bold ridge as it approaches Revidge." He then traced it across Revidge Lane, several fields, &c., in one being almost perfect, crossing the same lane again to Buggart's Barn, but he found no traces there. By a belt of gravel in the fields beyond this, and by sections of the road visible in the drains, Mr. Just in 1842, and the writer in 1878, again traced the road. It then crosses a lane to the farm house of Higher Waves, where it is very visible; through other fields, where its gravel line and the drains again shew its course; past Lower Waves, through the fields up to Ramsgreave. It here reaches the summit of the ridge, along which runs the modern road from Mellor to Wilpshire railway station, which it crosses. The road here comes

within sight of the Ribble, and nearly a mile further along the ridge to the west is the small intrenchment at Mellor. After crossing this modern road, the Roman way is used for nearly half a mile as an occupation road to Cuncliffe Moss, in which I could trace portions of it twelve yards wide. It runs thence to a place called Midge Hole, its track still being in most places quite plain—here a small fragment is still used as a road. It appears again at another "Harwood Fold," and is traceable through the fields to the road leading to Whalley. It crosses this about three hundred yards east of the Royal Oak Inn, and soon after coincides with the road to a place called Stubby Head, which stands upon it. Beyond this I found another fragment of it, with the side stones still *in situ*, though grass-grown. This is, perhaps, what Mr. Just calls "a deserted lane, which has a causeway in the middle." It is again traceable in the fields, and as a short fragment of road. After this, its line of gravel appears through three or four fields in succession to the bank of the Ribble, crossing the river fully a quarter of a mile to the east of Ribchester, that station being on the opposite bank.

From the remarkable absence of paving stones (except in one or two places) I think it evident that this road was not made until a considerably later period than that from Manchester to Ribchester, *via* Wigan and Walton, and the object seems to have been to connect the stations by a more direct route. It is certainly not one of the roads embraced in the Antonine *Itinerary*.

Manchester was also connected with Buxton, the *Aquae* of Ravennas, by a Roman road which passed through Stockport, beyond which town traces of it occur, though on this side the modern road runs for the greatest part of the distance upon its site. Whitaker tells us, but whether correctly or not it is difficult to say, that it left *Mancunium* at the east gate, took a direction first for Garret Lane, then another for the Medlock, and a third for the Cornebrook. Personally, I am more than sceptical as to the truth of this, as it is a violation of all the rules of Roman road-making. He takes it through Gathernes Field, by Galley Banks into Garret Lane, and says—

> This was the course of a public road, even within the present century, and therefore no appearances of the Roman construction can be expected along it. And, having now obtained a proper line for the ford over the Medlock, it made a considerable angle, winded along the descent to Garret Hall, left Garret Bridge immediately on the right, and passed along the bank of the river to the Old Ford over it. So the passage across this point of the Medlock is still denominated. And the track continues in some measure, and for part of its course, a public way to the present moment. It then deserted the lane, entered the left hand fields, reached Cornebrook and the present road at the bridge, and fell into the commencing line of Longsight. And the whole range of the present way to

Stockport, from this point to the Mersey, is popularly denominated High Street, and thereby sufficiently bespeaks itself to be Roman. But the first half mile of it being remarkably direct, has obtained the significative appellation of Longsight. Thus passing along the present highway, the road crossed the Mersey at the ford, which, from the "steap," "stop," or "steep" upon either side of it, received the appellation of Stopford among the Saxons, and was about two hundred yards above the present bridge of Stockport, and about sixty below the union of the Mersey and the Tame. It then mounted the brow of the Castle Hill to the Market place, and traversed the site of the town to Buxton.

Of the course of this road, from the point where it crosses the Cornebrook to Stockport, there can be no doubt, and the name "High Street" sufficiently evinces its origin; but that it ran *straight* from *Mancunium* to the brook, I feel equally certain of. It would be well to watch narrowly excavations in any of the streets pointing in this direction, in order to determine the point.

There can, I think, be little doubt but that Manchester was also connected by a direct road with the Roman station at Melandra Castle. Of such road I have occasionally thought I have found traces, but until I can speak with more certainty, I forbear to enter into the question.

The remaining road, which is *supposed* to commence at Manchester, is a most remarkable one, and requires some of its *minutiae* to be described. Whitaker, in his *History of Manchester*,* was the first who noticed it, and he thus speaks of it:—

> Another road of the Romans appears to have been laid from the camp at Manchester, and to have proceeded into Yorkshire; branching probably from the way to *Cambodunum*, about Ancoats Lane, and traversing the township obliquely, it passed by Street Fold in Moston, Street Bridge in Chatherton, and Street Gate in Ryton, and pointed evidently for Littleborough and Ilkley. And these three apellations ascertain the general direction of its course and *supply the want of any actual remains, or even of any traditional notices concerning it.* Leaving Street Fold and the parish, it advanced by Street Bridge and Street Gate, and was lately dug up near Rochdale. About a quarter of a mile to the right of the town, and near the road from Oldham, it was cut through in making a marle pit, and appeared several yards in breadth and deeply gravelled, and upon Blackstone Edge it is intersected as I have mentioned before by the way from *Cambodunum* to *Colania*.

He then traces the Yorkshire portion of it to Ilkley.

The most singular fact connected with this road is, that no one has ever seen or heard of the portion of it between Manchester and Blackstone Edge from Whitaker's time to the present day. It is true, as Whitaker states, that the names of Street Fold, &c., occur along the route he takes, but even below the surface nothing can be found of the road, unless the remains noticed in the following paragraph form part of it.

* Book i., ch. v., sec. ii.

In the *Manchester City News*' "Notes and Queries"* Mr. Joseph Ramsbottom writes under date of 21st January, 1878, from Moston, recording a discovery made

> in the cutting out of the foundations for some new houses close to Lightbown Hall, Moston. . . . When digging out the cellars, at about two feet six inches below the surface, the workmen struck upon the pavement. The road was about four feet wide, of rather a convex surface, being highest in the middle, where the largest boulders had been placed, and there were two layers of stones upon a bed of gravel. Standing in the cellars and looking at the two breasts of stones, one side seemed to run on in a northern direction, with a point or so east, the other ran south, with the same inclination to the west. In the same direction as the latter, for at least some of the distance, the Lightbowns had once a road to and from their Hall. I do not think it was ever a private road, for in the early part of this century a certain Dr. Thorp, from Manchester, used to ride over it once a year regularly for the purpose of keeping it open. But I cannot think that the Lightbown road, being in continual use, could, since the Hall was built, have sunk so far beneath the surrounding level, and am inclined to regard the one just discovered as of a much earlier date.

Judging of the character of this road as detailed by Mr. Ramsbottom, I should certainly be inclined to give a Roman origin to it; but that it is a continuation of the fine road over Blackstone Edge seems almost impossible. It is more like a small road leading to a villa: its width is insufficient for anything else. On the Roman road between Kinderton and Nantwich the farmers have found a number of similar small branches below the surface.

Baines, in his *History of Lancashire*,† says, under the head of Rochdale Parish, in which is a place named Castleton :—

> A Roman road appears to have traversed Castleton from the south-west to the north-east, in forming the communication between Manchester and Ilkley.

On what authority this is said I know not, but it places the road in a very different position to where Whitaker says it was found—"about a quarter of a mile to the right" of Rochdale. If we may judge by local names, I should opine that the road went by "Longsight" and "Road Ford," "Sun Gate," "Windy Bank," and "Lydgate," where it reaches the foot of the hill. This direction would be in accordance with the discovery of the silver arm of the statue of "Victory," found near Butterworth.‡ On the other hand, Mr. Schofield, of Stubley Hall (about a mile to the west of Littleborough church), informs me that a portion of the road formerly existed there, and Roman coins were found when the house was rebuilt. Where last visible,

* Vol. i., p. 19.

† Vol. ii., p. 639 (edit. 1836).

‡ This relic was found at Tunshill, in Butterworth. Just north of Tunshill are two places called "Castle" and "Roadfield," from which we might infer that the road took this direction to "Windy Bank," but this would be also some distance from where Whitaker tells us the road was found.

the road is pointing in this direction, and if it passed through Stubley it must have gone on to the west and fallen into the road from Manchester to Ribchester direct, but there are no traces of it. I have noticed since writing the above, that Warburton *(Somerset Herald)*, in his map of the Roman roads, published in 1753, marks this road as running from Manchester to Rochdale, Littleborough, and Blackstone Edge, &c., as the Rev. J. Whitaker does; but the latter appears not to have been aware of Warburton's work. Warburton was a Lancashire man, and may have seen portions of the road between Manchester and Littleborough before it was obliterated.

The first portion of the road visible is at a point near the eleventh mile-stone on the road from Halifax to Rochdale, and about a mile and a half east-north-east of Littleborough. The modern road here makes a southerly curve, almost the arc of a circle, and the Roman road proceeding west-south-west, and pointing direct for Lydgate, Windy Bank, and Littleborough, approaches it (if it does not in one place touch it, and run parallel with it) at an acute angle. If the antiquary will at this point leave the modern road and ascend the hill he will find himself upon the Roman one; at first, owing to the stones having been taken away to build the field walls, which he will see on his right, and the depth of the herbage, the traces are comparatively poor, but every yard increases them, and before one hundred yards are passed the massive central and side stones, as well as the pavement, are everywhere protruding from the moss, ling, and heather beneath his feet. Here and there he will find portions of the road which have been uncovered, some of them by genuine antiquaries, others by curious persons with propensities which are nothing but Vandalism. In these latter cases he will find the great stones of the road pulled up and thrown on one side, as if from a love of mischief.

From the point where it becomes visible, to the summit of the hill, is almost exactly four-fifths of a mile, and the road climbs the steep ascent in a perfectly straight line, the gradients averaging 1 in $5\frac{2}{3}$, and in some places being 1 in 5. But the words of Dr. H. C. March, of Rochdale, will, I think, fully explain the nature of the road. He says, in a lecture delivered before the Rochdale Literary and Philosophical Society, 7th November, 1879:—

> This portion of the road is exactly sixteen feet in width. In some places there are distinct indications of a deep trench on each side, dug into the earth, for the purpose of drainage. The roadway is transversely arched, so that the water would run from and not towards the centre. The road is paved with squared blocks. These are laid with great care, and are held by strong curbs,

which stand up some two inches above the level of the causeway. Exactly in the middle of the road is a line of massive stones, fitted together with great precision. While the other smaller stones, of which the general pavement consists, are of ordinary sandstone, these especial ones are always of the very hardest and densest grit. Along these stones has been cut by the mason's art a deep and wide trough. The bottom of the trough is slightly, but invariably, convex. The width of the trough at its upper and wider part is one foot five inches; its true width across the bottom is one foot one and a half inches. Its depth in the centre varies from three and a half inches to five and a half inches. To return to the road in general: as before said, its total width, outside all, is sixteen feet. But the curbstones, being above its level, cannot be counted in. These vary in width from five and a quarter to six and three-quarter inches. We may safely consider, then, that the practicable width of the road inside the curbstone is fifteen feet. This causeway of fifteen feet is divided by the central trough into two roads of equal width, the measurement from the inside of the curbstone to the outside of the troughstone being six feet. Each of these two roads is grooved by longitudinal furrows, and no one entertains the least doubt that these furrows are wheel-tracks; but they have certain characters. In each road they are three in number, and their position is quite definite. The furrow nearest the trough is very deep, and is four inches wide; that nearest the curbstone is also four inches wide, but is very shallow; while the middle one is not quite so shallow, and is generally broader, or about seven inches wide. Thus, at last, we have the problem fully stated. What is its solution? What explanations have hitherto been advanced? Of course the kernel of the riddle, the crux of the difficulty, is the troughstone; and three thories have been hitherto devised to account for it. First it has been suggested that the central trough was an aqueduct, for the purpose of carrying water from the top of the hill, where it is not plentiful, to the bottom, where it is found in the greatest abundance. Then it is said the trough was made for drainage, but the foundation of the road was drained by the side trenches; and its face is arched so as to carry rain away from, instead of towards, the centre, while the gradient is so considerable that special surface drainage could not have been required. Further, though we have everywhere evidence that the Romans paid great attention to drainage, we find it always done in quite different ways from this. Moreover, the cost and trouble expended on the structure in question are out of all proportion to the end suggested; and, lastly, no aqueduct could get worn by water in such wise as to present a uniformly convex bottom. The third theory is that the trough was worn by the feet of Roman horses. The principal answer to this is, that though the trough certainly shows signs of wear, yet it was undoubtedly, in the first instance, cut out by the chisel.

The theory proposed by Dr. March was, that the central groove or trough had been made for the purpose of skidding the wheels of waggons when going down the steep portions of the road.*

Such was the position of the question when, in June, 1880, the Rev. Canon Molesworth (Vicar of Spotland, near Rochdale), a supporter of the

* Another theory has been proposed, viz., that the groove or trough had been worn by the feet of passengers along the road, but it is so palpably erroneous that it does not need any further notice. It has also been suggested that the trough might be for the purpose of removing an accumulation of water on the level surface of the road on the summit, but this could be otherwise accomplished, and in a more simple manner. It is quite certain that no vehicle could descend the road without a brake of some nature.

aqueduct theory, brought the road to the notice of the Secretary of the Royal Archæological Institute (Mr. Hartshorne), who referred the whole subject to the writer. Having long known the road by description, I had no hesitation in adopting (at least to some extent) the "skidding" theory of Dr. March, who at the close of the lecture above quoted had said:—

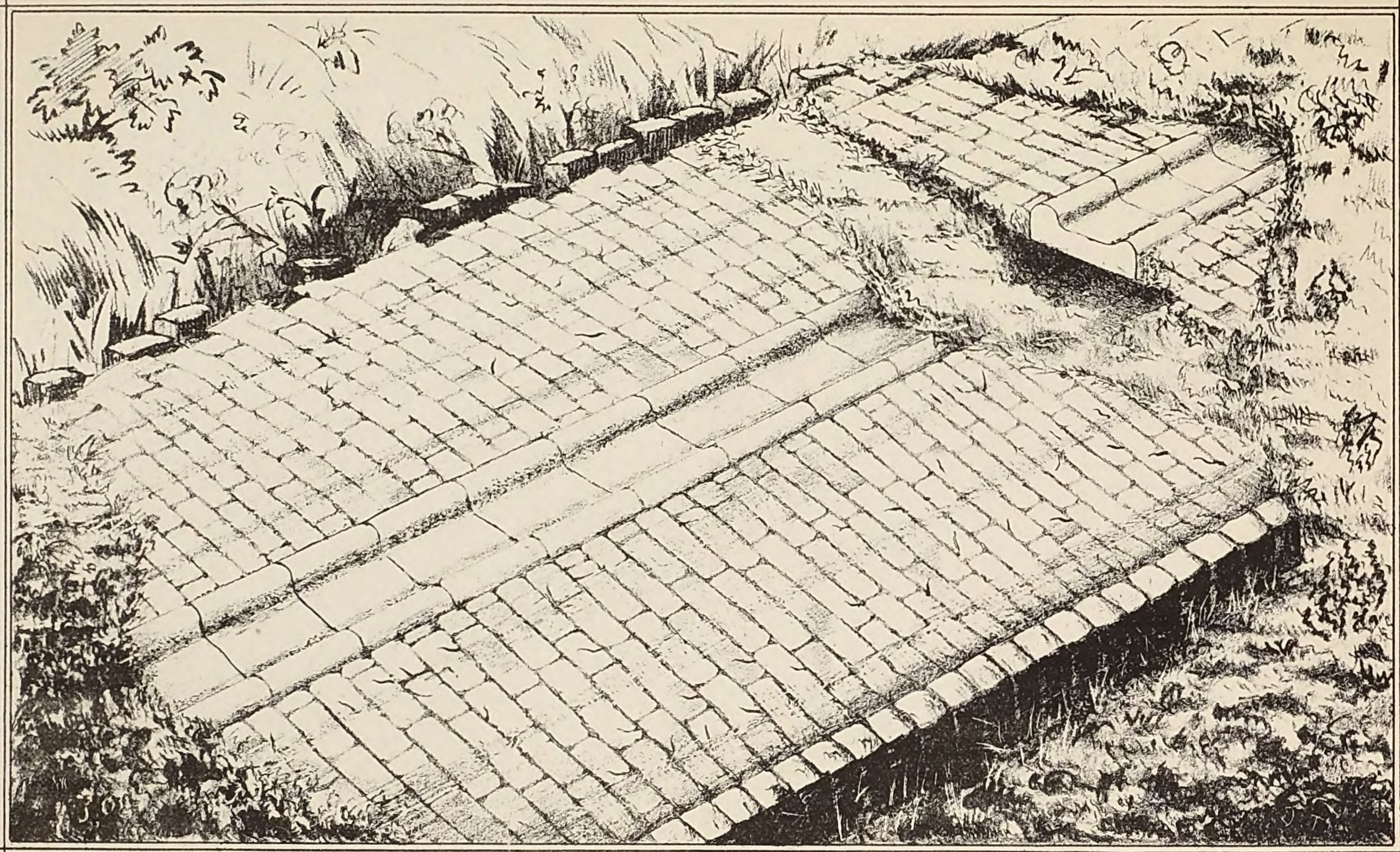
> We know that the Romans were a highly ingenious and practical race, and though independent evidence that they were acquainted with the art or followed the practice of skidding wheels cannot be adduced, we may be pretty certain that they were familiar with such a very simple and useful, if not necessary, mechanical contrivance.

In connection with this passage, I brought to Dr. March's notice the meaning of the word *sufflamen*, and its constant employment metaphorically by the Latin poets, Plautus, Juvenal, &c., as clearly shewing that the Romans were acquainted with the principle of the "skid" in every-day life; thus confirming the probability of his theory.

In May, 1881, I had the pleasure (in company with Canon Molesworth and Lieutenant-Col. Fishwick, F.S.A.) of making a thorough inspection of the road. In the main we found the account of Dr. March correct, but noticed one curious fact, that for a long distance one side of the groove seemed much worn, as if by wheels rubbing against it, whilst the other was almost as fresh as when made. In another portion the same thing would occur, with the side previously found much worn now quite fresh, and the side previously little worn now much so. The conclusion to my mind was, that the groove was made for the purpose of receiving and steadying the central wheel of a three-wheeled vehicle. I am, however, bound to say that the same effect would be produced by the skidded wheel of two-wheeled vehicles, the skid or brake being sometimes applied to the right wheel and at others to the left. Possibly both causes contributed to produce the effect. A vehicle ascending need not be skidded; it is therefore to the down traffic that the abrasions are due, more especially as there appears to be no trace of skidding in the side roads.* The distances between the ruts have been closely investigated by Dr. March, and they prove that the waggons using both the road, and the trough and road together, had wheels four and a half feet distant from each other.

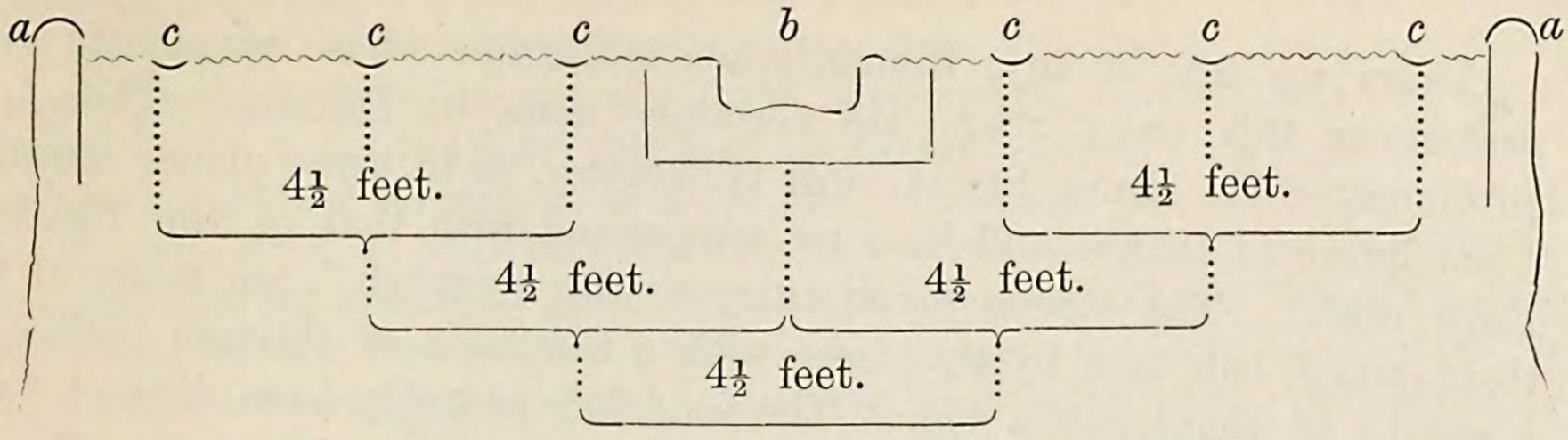
The annexed diagram will shew this.

* The "skid" used has probably been either the "shoe" or the "chain and hook." Some of the Italian roads must have required a similar brake, in order to travel on them, but I know of none of them with a groove like this.



T. Brakell & Co Liverpool.

ROMAN ROAD, BLACKSTONE EDGE.



a Curbstones. *b* Chiselled Trough. *c* Wheel Ruts.

At the top of the hill the road widens out, as if to afford a resting place, and the trough ceases. The road here, for some distance cut through the rock, has in places the square sets still preserved, though it is by no means so perfect as on the slope of the hill. The county boundary (between Lancashire and Yorkshire) is on the summit, and some distance further on, where the descent begins to be steep, the trough recommences. Into the course of the road through Yorkshire this is not the place to enter. Just at the summit of the hill, and immediately within the county boundary, flanking the road on either side are two small nearly circular excavations, which have been considered intrenchments. I am very doubtful whether they are more than the remains of the quarries from which the stone was obtained for the sets of the road. If intrenchments at all, they are not, from their form and nature, of Roman origin, but are probably of the time of Charles I. Col. Rosworm, the engineer-officer of the royal forces at Manchester, in his pamphlet (1649)—*An Historical Relation of Eight Years' Services for King and Parliament done in and about Manchester*, &c.,—says that in July, 1642, the Earl of Newcastle with a considerable force advanced towards Lancashire, upon which Rosworm sent troops from Manchester to oppose him, but they were beaten at Wisket Hall, in Yorkshire, and driven back into Lancashire; the Parliamentary troops occupying Halifax.

When I had received this sad intelligence, and informed myself of the nature of the passes by which the enemy most easily could come in upon us, and finding them capable of sudden fortification, by the consent of the deputy-lieutenants, I quickly helped nature with art, strengthening Blackstone Edge and Blackegate, and manning them with soldiers, to prevent the Earl's dangerous approach, by which means, being diverted like an angry storm with a gust, he went to the siege of Hull.

"Blackegate" is evidently the road we have been considering. The accompanying lithograph will give the best idea of its present appearance.

There are few, if any, Roman roads in Europe whose pavements are as perfect as this one; there are certainly none in Britain. Though the pavement of the Ermin Street, near Gloucester, is in some places remaining, I am informed that it will bear no comparison with that of the Blackstone Edge road.* The stones which compose the "trough" are many of them three and a half feet by two feet, with a thickness of thirteen inches, and a weight of about half a ton. The road has probably been disused for the last two centuries, as nothing can be gathered relating to it since the Civil War. Its track is visible (up the hill side) for many miles around by the difference of the colour of the herbage. Its savage grandeur is now accompanied by the most perfect loneliness—so lonely indeed is it, that on our visit in May, 1881, we disturbed a sitting grouse in her nest, in its very centre.

Another road of importance in the southern portion of the county was that running from *Coccium* (Wigan) to the Roman station at Wilderspool, on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, near Warrington. The name of this station has not yet been decided. Until the last thirty years it was generally believed to be the *Veratinum* of the anonymous Chorography of Ravennas, but recently the late Drs. Robson and Kendrick (certainly, as I think, most erroneously) have given it the name of *Condate*. The road to it from Wigan, which averaged about thirteen or fourteen yards in breadth, commenced at the street called Wallgate in the latter town, and crossed the river Douglas at Haddon Bridge. Mr. Sibson describes it† as being visible in his time

by several patches of brown gravel on a slip of waste land on the west side of the turnpike road, near the cottages at Robin Lane End, in Pemberton.

I am obliged, in the main, here to rely on Mr. Sibson's statement, and also as to the course of the road for the first mile or two from Wigan, the alterations of the last fifty years having been very great, and the traces of the road, owing to building and agricultural operations, being now very faint. Mr. Sibson continues:—

The Roman road leaves the turnpike road at the old iron foundry, and it runs in a high ridge, about fourteen yards broad, across the Nearer House Field, leaving the Stone House a little to the west, and across the Barn Meadow and Well Meadow, in front of Hindley Hall. The road appears to have gone out of the straight line to the east, for the purpose of avoiding the deep ravine at

* The nearest approach to this road is probably the portion of the "Devil's Causeway" remaining near Pitchford, in Shropshire, which is paved with large blocks of basalt.

† *Baines' History of Lancashire*, vol. iii., p. 575 (edit. 1836).

Smithy Brook, and it seems to have crossed the brook a little below the mill. The ridge of the road appears again very plainly in the Puet Meadow, in front of the "Ben Jonson" public-house; and the road is again found on the west side of the turnpike road, near to a farm-house called Derbyshire's, in the fields called Nearer Nag Wood and Further Nag Wood. From Haddon Bridge to the Nearer Nag Wood the road has continued nearly in a straight line, and has been formed entirely of earth and gravel; but in the Nearer Nag Wood the road changes its direction by turning a little to the east, and it continues in a straight line from this field to the top of Whithill, where the road crosses the Long Lane in Ashton-in-Makerfield. It appears that at the Nag Wood there is a change in the construction of the road; for from the Nag Wood, in Pemberton, to the Old Hey, in Newton, the road is formed of large pieces of freestone, together with earth and gravel.

Regarding this account it may be said that the road is still visible near the "Ben Jonson" public-house and in Nag Wood, though very faintly, and only here and there; but I think Mr. Sibson is in error in describing it as being differently constructed to the south of the latter place. I have no doubt but that the stones of the road have been removed from that part of it near Wigan, for building and other purposes.

After leaving Nag Wood, the road is no longer seen on the west side of the turnpike, the last fragment of it visible in that direction seems pointing to a junction with the turnpike at a very acute angle, and then forming the substratum of the latter for a short distance, bearing the name of "Park Lane," it reappears on the eastern side of the modern road, where, as Mr. Sibson describes it, "in a corner of a field called the Outlet, close to the gate," a fragment of it in a good state of preservation is, or recently was, to be seen. By its gravel line it is traceable across two adjoining fields (Chapel Hey and Brook Hey). Beyond this, though invisible above ground, the road is found below the surface for some distance. Mr. Sibson found it, composed of large stones and gravel, in an orchard in Land Gate, about a foot below the surface, and he says its "broad round ridge" was visible in other places, though a covering of earth for garden purposes had been thrown over it. Just beyond this point, it is found about four inches below the surface in the fields, twelve yards broad, eighteen inches in depth, and formed of large stones and gravel. In two fields which adjoin, called the Padroad Meadow and Outlet, the road ascends to the top of a small elevation, which is called Whithill, by a sort of hollow way, though only two or three feet deep. Mr. Sibson says:—

By digging with a spade in this hollow, the road is found about half a yard below the surface, ten or twelve yards broad, and formed of large stones and yellow-coloured freestone.

About a quarter of a mile to the east of this point is another small elevation, bearing the name of "Toot Hill," a name frequently occurring near Roman roads or stations.

The road next crosses Long Lane, in a field on the south side of which, called the "Croft," it was lately very perfect, but covered with a thick coating of soil, appearing as an elevated ridge. It then crosses Nichol Lane to Whitledge Green, where a fragment of it, preserving both its stones and gravel, is visible on some waste land. It is visible through several fields in succession, on the south side of Nichol Lane, by its line of gravel, and then again crosses the turnpike road at an acute angle into a field called the White Pits, on the western side of the turnpike. It then crosses the next field, called the Red Earth, and a road called the Old Road. Mr. Sibson (p. 576) conjectured that an old wall remaining near this point was part of a Roman fort. The wall was constructed of large blocks of red freestone, and one of the stones in its face had been deeply channelled, as if to carry off water from the interior. He concluded that there had been a bath, and states that a field near is called Bury Grave. When the writer some years ago visited this wall, he could not come to the same conclusion, none of the usual signs of Roman work being visible.

The road was formerly visible at the west end of a large cotton factory erected in 1827, during the building of which some horse shoes were found at a great depth, and subsequently a second brass coin of Trajan was found near. These objects will be mentioned hereafter. Mr. Sibson, I presume from personal examination, says that the road next passes under the parsonage of Ashton-in-Makerfield. A considerable fragment of the road is still very visible in the plantation on the west side of Haydock Lodge. In Whitaker's time much more of it must have remained, for he says—

> Entering the paddock at a large ash, it continues along it about six hundred yards, and then regains the rectified line of the present road. Running about three hundred along the edge of the paddock, it crosses the back avenue to the house, and is levelled to admit the plane of it. And about as many yards of it are very perfect, and a hundred and fifty in the middle as compleat almost as they were originally. For this space it is very fairly rounded, and has a sharp slope of nine or ten yards on either side from the crown to the borders.

The portion on the west side of the lodge is now, as it was in Mr. Sibson's time, about two hundred yards in length, and Mr. Sibson says it was fourteen yards wide, and a yard in thickness. It was formed of earth, with a layer of rude blocks of red sandstone, and upon this a layer of gravel. The latter has been in

many places taken away to a considerable extent, which has caused the exposed sandstone to decay, and the width of the road has been by these means narrowed, it being in such places only six or seven yards wide, which seems to be the width of the layer of stones in the centre. It does not appear to have been paved.

The road has been very satisfactorily traced from this point to Wilderspool, by the exertions of Mr. Sibson, the late Drs. Robson and Kendrick, and Mr. Beamont, and it will answer every purpose of the antiquary if, instead of dealing with its further traces at length, I give a summary of the places where it has been found by the above-named gentlemen.

It crosses the turnpike road at Haydock, and runs along the plantations on the east side, a little beyond which it enters into and coincides with the turnpike for a short distance; again crossing the turnpike road it is found in some waste ground near Crow Lane, then in a field, called Mather's Croft, beyond which it crosses an old lane, called "Townfield Lane," which, being six feet below the level of the adjoining ground, and the Roman road sloping down to it, is considered by Mr. Sibson as a proof that it existed before the Roman road.*

The road is next found in ploughing in the School field, and in the ditch between the two next fields, called Little Rushey Hey and Great Rushey Hey. The Roman road crosses the turnpike in the Crow Lane, being traced by its gravel in a piece of waste land opposite Tanyard Barn, then in the Tanyard Meadow, the Water Meadow, the Further Eight Acre, and Middle Two Acre, fields, in a field called Moss Two Acres, at the Old Hey-Wood, in the next field, called the Four Acres, in a field on the crown of the hill, called White Pits, in two large fields, called Brownsworth and Gable Heys, in the corner of a field called Atherton Stock Meadow, near Sankey Brook, which it crosses, and is found in a field called Parson's Meadow; and in the hedge between this field and the next, which is called Gerard's Coppice, the remains of it are very visible, being sixteen yards wide, and four feet thick, formed of large stones, covered with gravel. It is next found in the Horse Pasture, in the ditch between Big Alder Field and Little Alder Meadow, in the ditch between Birch Tree Croft and Winwick Field, and in the ditch in the Dog Kennel Field. In the next field it is visible by the gravel line, but is nearly obliterated in

* This "Townfield Lane" seems to have been an old British road, but subsequently used by the Romans; as at the point where it crosses the Sankey Brook, close to a tumulus called "Castle Hill," two piers of a bridge remain (Sibson, vol. vii., 2nd series, *Trans. Lit. and Phil. Soc. of Manchester*, p. 326). It leads from Haydock to Lowton, and is a sunken way.

Winwick and Hulme. It is found again in the fields near Clambrook, in Orford, called Meadow Side, on the west side of the turnpike road, to which it runs nearly parallel, then in the second meadow on the north side of Longford Bridge. Its ridge is very visible here on the west side of the turnpike, and some large blocks of deeply channelled red sandstone are lying about. At Longford Bridge it crosses the Orford Brook. Subsequently, crossing the Green Lane, it passes through Alder Lane Field, Little Further Meadow, Jockey Field, Borron's Field, Knowls' Field, Sand Holes, crossing the lane near the corner of Orford Avenue, through the Barn Field, from which it points towards the site of the Mote Hill, at Warrington, but its track from here to the Wilderspool station is lost. Mr. Sibson (and Whitaker before him*) thought it passed between the Mote Hill and the church, and crossed the Mersey at Latchford, but from recent investigation it appears to have taken a nearer route, proceeding along part of Orford Lane, Fennel Street and Mersey Street, where there was a ford just below the bridge to Wilderspool Causeway. On the Cheshire side some remains of this ford may be seen, when the river is very low, in the shape of a large gravel bank, but on the Warrington side it has been destroyed for the sake of improving the navigation. This last mile of the road is most effectually destroyed by its passing through the town of Warrington.

The Roman road from Wigan to Walton, near Preston (and thence to Ribchester), which forms the part of Antonine's Tenth Iter north of the former station, was first detected some fifty-five years since by Mr. Ralph Thicknesse, about a mile and a half north-north-east from Wigan, in a field called Beggar's Walk, near Ryland's factory. The railway from Wigan to Preston crosses it near this point. There was at the time a tradition that this was the former great road from Wigan to Preston. Mr. Sibson† says :—

> Considerable pains have been taken in tracing the road from this place towards Wigan; and the road has been found in the bleaching crofts near Ryland's factory, in a valley at the north-east end of Wigan Mains, and in the next field to the Mains, near the footroad on the east side of the Mains.

It was here that a fine gold coin of Vitellius was found.

Proceeding north-east from Beggar's Walk, the road is found in a field called Patten Hey, which it passes through, being fourteen yards in width,

* Whitaker thought an embankment on the Warrington side of the Mersey to be part of the road, but Pennant (*Tour from Downing to Alston Moor*, p. 10) proves that it was of modern construction.

† Baines' *History of Lancashire*, vol. iii., p. 583 (edit. 1836).

and a yard in depth, formed of gravel, with blocks of yellow-coloured freestone. Just beyond this it forms a cart-road to Standish, proceeding through the middle of the Old Meadows Field, and along the side of the next one to Barn Hey, where it is discoverable, and the line of its gravel and stones marks its progress up the hill to Standish, where it ran slightly to the west of the Church, but is not now, I believe, visible above ground. Dr. Leigh, in his *Natural History of Lancashire*,* gives an account of a "find" of Roman coins, &c., here, at the end of the 17th century.

This road appears through the middle ages to have formed the only medium of communication between the south of the county and Lancaster and Carlisle. In consequence it would become very much worn and dilapidated. Cromwell, who in 1648 (on the day after the battle of Preston) followed its track close to Wigan, says in his despatch, speaking of his arrival near the latter town :—

> We lay that night in a field close by the enemy, being very dirty and weary, having marched twelve miles of such ground as I never rode in all my life, the day being very wet.

Arthur Young† speaks of the road between Preston and Wigan, and advises travellers—

> to avoid it, as they would the devil, for a thousand to one but they break their necks or their limbs by overthrows or breakings down. They will here meet with ruts, which I actually measured, four feet deep, and floating with mud, only from a wet summer. . . . The only mending it receives is the tumbling in some loose stones which serve no other purpose, but jolting a carriage in the most intolerable manner.

This was in 1770. Mr. Whittle, in his *History of Preston*,‡ speaks as follows of this road in 1771 :—

> The road to the metropolis of England from Preston was by way of Warrington. The first stage coach established in this town was about this time. Sumpter horses were used previous to this in the carriage of parcels and provisions. Strings of pack horses, thirty and forty in a gang, were used for carrying coals and lime. The leading horse of a gang carried a bell to give warning to travellers coming in the opposite direction by any sharp turn or narrow path. It very frequently happened that the *Roman causeway between Preston and Wigan* scarcely afforded room to pass, they were obliged to make way for each other by plunging into the side road (which was soft and sometimes almost impassable), out of which they found it difficult to get back upon the causeway.

This passage shews the immense wear and tear to which the road had been

* Book iii., p. 81 *et seq.*
† *A Six Months' Tour through the North of England* (2nd edit., London, 1771), vol. iv., p. 430.
‡ Vol. ii., p. 61.

subjected. It is no wonder that it soon disappeared as a road, when, upon the making of the new highway, it was left to the mercies of farmers and others.

Mr. Sibson traces the road from Standish through Welch Whithill (or Whittle) to Euxton Burgh,—on what evidence I cannot say. There is, a little beyond Standish, in the track the road would take, a place called "Windy Arbour," a name, as I have before said, frequently found on the line of Roman roads, but though I have looked for the track of this road between Standish and Euxton I have failed to find it. To the late Mr. T. T. Wilkinson, of Burnley, I am indebted for the information, that about 1840 the late Mr. T. Langton Birley saw a portion of this road uncovered about a quarter of a mile to the north-north-east of Euxton. It was found at a depth of about two feet, and was about thirteen yards in width, paved with large blocks of stone, and composed of gravel. It was pointing for the park at Worden Hall. From this information, the road will probably be found beneath the surface between Welch Whithill and Euxton; and the course towards Worden is further confirmed by a hoard of coins found at that place, another at Whittle-le-Woods, and a Roman gold ring at Leyland. Mr. Sibson says it passes through Rose Whittle, which is a little to the left of this line, and thence to Bamber Green. At this last place it is not now visible, though I am informed that fifty years ago a small fragment remained.

Mr. Hardwick informs me, that near the "Parker's Arms" Inn, the present highway and the Roman road became nearly identical, and slightly beyond this point the Roman road continues in a straight line to near Brownedge Chapel. A portion of it still remains here as a private road. The Ordnance map marks it as "Mainway Gate." It appears to have been stripped of its stones, but it points for Walton-le-Dale. At this latter place, in June, 1855, Mr. Hardwick found the remains of a small Roman post, and was also able to trace a portion of the road. He says*—

> Notwithstanding the accumulation of alluvial deposit, a broad agger is still traceable from the immense natural gravel bank or ford at the Ribble, towards the present bridge over the Darwen. The workmen employed in the erection of Mr. Calvert's weaving shed, which crosses its line, state that at some distance below the surface they came upon a compact mass of road material, so hard that a pickaxe could hardly penetrate it.

Respecting this statement, I very much doubt, after personal inspection, whether the gravel bank which forms this ford is natural,—in fact, I believe

* Vol. viii., *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, p. 132, and *History of Preston*, p. 45.

that the removal of the gravel would reveal a paved ford across the river. Mr. Hardwick* adds—

> The agger is probably the remains of the original earthwork which protected the station on the east. The road to the ford appears to have run parallel to it on the eastern side. During the last summer (1856) when the workmen had removed the superior soil previous to the formation of a new road to the "Flatts' House," crossing the Roman road at right angles, the author perceived within a breadth of about six yards some remains of gravel and many small fragments of ashlars, formed of Whittle gritstone, partially disintegrated. The road materials in this place had evidently been removed, these fragments alone remaining.

Mr. Hardwick says, that on "the north bank of the Ribble, opposite the ford, a zig-zag indentation in the face of the steep ascent may still be seen;" inferring that it was the track of the road; but this I doubt. It has probably been an addition of later times for the convenience of travelling. The old track of the road, which was very likely to be here a sort of hollow way, would be filled up at the time of the alteration. But excavation only can settle the point. From the ford the road seems to have proceeded straight to the end of Church Street, in Preston, which it crossed near the Blue Bell Inn. Its course from here is indicated in a map of Preston, by George Lang, dated 1774, by several fields in succession, called "Great Pathway Field," "Causeway Meadow," and "Pathway Meadow." A portion of this part of its course, Mr. Hardwick informs me, was laid bare in October, 1861, a little to the east of North Road, near the windmill, by some workmen digging a foundation. It was about two feet beneath the surface, formed of gravel and paved with boulders. The breadth was not ascertained, the excavation not extending more than six feet.†

> The cutting where it passed the Swillbrook [says the same gentleman‡] between Mr. Eastham's new mill and the Albyn Bank is distinctly visible. During the construction of the Freehold Park in Fulwood, fragments were discovered upon the section allotted to Mr. Brewer. A small portion of the Roman agger may yet be seen on Preston Moor where the land slopes towards the brook opposite to Mr. Brewer's plot.

Since Mr. Hardwick wrote this, the road has been discovered in the operations for sewerage on the Freehold Park Estate; and in May, 1861, a fall of earth by the brook side, between Moor Park and Fulwood Park, opposite to Mr. Gardner's (formerly Mr. Brewer's) plot, on the latter, disclosed, on the Preston side of the brook, a very fine portion of the pavement of the road. It

* *History of Preston*, p. 46.

† This portion was opposite the "Causeway Meadow" of Lang's map.

‡ Vol. viii., p. 132, *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire.*

was about two feet six inches below the surface of the ground, ten yards wide, and was formed of boulder stones, very firmly set in gravel and sand.* This road fell at almost right angles upon the road from the Fylde to Ribchester, about halfway between the "Withy Trees" Inn and Fulwood Barracks.

We are indebted to Mr. Hardwick† for preserving one other piece of information concerning it at this point. He says:—

> The Rev. John Clay in one of his interesting lectures on the Ribble in 1845 gave some particulars respecting the destruction of these roads. . . . He observed:—In the course of our enquiries about the roads, we were fortunate in meeting a fine old man, upwards of ninety years of age, named Richard Dewhurst, living on Cadley Moor, in a cottage in which he and his father before him were born. His memory respecting this road seemed very clear. He recollected breaking up, seventy years ago, the gravel of which it was formed, beginning from the Withy Trees, crossing Cadley Moor. [This refers to the road from the Fylde, locally called Watling Street.] Our informant also well remembered that another road, constructed also of similar materials, crossed Preston Moor and entered the Watling Street. On this road his fellow-workmen, employed in removing the gravel, found some Roman coins.

At the junction with the "Watling Street," the road from Wigan appears to have originally terminated. That it was at a later time carried on to Lancaster we shall presently see.

A road, which has originally been a very fine one, issues from Ribchester and proceeds into the Fylde, possibly connecting the "Haven of the Setantii" with *Bremetonacum*—though where this *Portus Setantiorum* was situate is not yet decided, if indeed it ever will be; as the probability is that it has been long since destroyed by the encroachments of the sea, unless, which seems improbable, Lancaster was the site.

The first writer in modern times to notice this road appears to have been William Dugdale. Dr. Kuerden says:—

> This highway, by the country people at this day cald Watling Street, and was well viewed by the learned and incomparable antiquary William Dugdell, Norroy King-of-Armes, in his last visitation of the gentry within the county of Lancaster, An. Do. 1664, where by him and many other diligent observers there finding a rampire cast up with gravel, and the largeness of the bulk thereof was judged to be a Roman strata.‡

Dr. Leigh, who visited Ribchester in 1699, also speaks of a Roman road

* See *Preston Chronicle*, May 29, 1861.

† *Hist. of Preston*, p. 47, and vol. viii., *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, p. 133.

‡ *Kuerden's Manuscripts*, vol. vi., fol. 121, cap. ii., in the Herald's College, London.

from Ribchester to Preston (evidently this one) in his *Natural History of Lancashire.* Whitaker in his *History of Manchester** erroneously concluded that the road went to Freckleton, at the Neb of the Naze, where he placed, accordingly, the *Portus Setantiorum*, but he seems never to have traced the road far from Preston. He was followed in this by the Rev. Dr. Whitaker in his *History of Richmondshire.*

The Rev. W. Thornber† tells us that he remembered, when a boy, Mr. Wilson, of Poulton-in-the-Fylde, pressing upon Dr. Whitaker that tradition had handed it down, that an agger ran from Ribchester to the Wyre, which, in the Roman era, was the great port of Lancashire. "There may be such a road" he replied, "but it was a very late work; and think you the Romans would overlook the Ribble and the Lune for a river so insignificant as the Wyre?" Though by no means overlooking the rivers named, it is certain that the Roman road to the west from Ribchester leads to the estuary of the Wyre, and to that only.

The road has been successfully traced to near Poulton-in-the-Fylde by the exertions of the late Messrs. John Just, T. Langton Birley, Dr. Robson, and Rev. W. Thornber, Messrs. Hall and Wright, of the Ordnance Survey, and others; thus most effectually overturning the theory first started by the historian of Manchester.‡ Mr. Thornber says:—

> The causeway without doubt ran to Kirkham, and if it branched off from thence to Freckleton, I would at once affirm that the protecting station of the *Portus* was at the former, but there are no traces of such a road, nor the shadow of one, for I have travelled over the intervening space again and again. I have asked for information from old natives. I have heard Mr. Tongue, a clergyman in the vicinity, declare that he has searched for remains for years. I took Mr. Just, to have his opinion; and lastly Mr. Wright, to satisfy the Preston people, was especially sent down by the Ordnance Survey to inspect the supposed site, and make all enquiries, and the result was—there never was a Roman agger that had its terminus at the Neb of the Naze.

Its first vestiges, after it has issued from the station at Ribchester, are to be found in the road which leads from the Parsonage, where the raised agger is visible. A section of it is to be seen in a little stream which runs near the Parsonage, and it has been met with below the surface in the grounds of the latter, during draining operations. For the next two miles not a trace of it is visible. If it pursued a straight line to the place where it is again found, such a

* Vol. 1, p. 180 (2nd edit.) † *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire,* vol. 3, p. 58.

‡ Papers by the four first-named gentlemen on this subject will be found in vol. iii., *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire.* It is from these that the quotations I have given as to this road are taken. See also *Manchester Guardian*, October 23, 1850, where a report of a lecture by Mr. Just on this road is given.

line is intersected by several bends of the river, which appears to have formed a new channel for itself since the Roman period, but not a trace of the road can be found in its bank. It reappears at a place called "Stubbin's Nook,"* and soon after coincides with an occupation road. For about a mile and a half it is found in the fields, sometimes being very visible, at others completely below the surface. It then passes Marsh House, and for the next two miles is traceable at the depth of the plough in the fields, its gravel being very visible about fifteen inches deep in the centre, and one foot at the sides. There are here appearances of small ditches at the sides, about two feet wide and eighteen inches deep, which at some points have deposits of burnt vegetable matter at the bottom. Opposite Pedder House it is again visible above ground, and makes a slight angle which takes it more in a south-westerly direction. It shortly afterwards becomes identical with the line of the modern road bearing the name of Watling Street, and is crossed by the Preston and Longridge Railway. It passes Preston Barracks, and traversing Fulwood Moor where the roads from Lancaster and Wigan fell into it, crosses the turnpike road to Garstang at "Withy Trees." Beyond this, until it reaches Kirkham, there is much conflicting evidence as to its track; probably there may be slight traces of another road, which has been confused with it.

The Rev. John Clay, in the lecture which I have before quoted from Mr. Hardwick's work, says that the same old man (Richard Dewhurst) who assisted to break-up the road from Walton to the Watling Street,—

> recollected breaking-up, seventy years ago [*i.e.*, *circa* 1775], the gravel of which it was formed, beginning from the Withy Trees, crossing Cadley Moor, and continuing past Mr. Grimshaw's house in the direction of Cottam Mill. There can be no doubt that this was a portion of the Watling Street, for the old man's memory brings it to Tanteston Hall, where its traces reappear. Mr. Cartwright and I found faint evidences of it yet remaining near Plungington, and also near the lodge of water belonging to Cadley Mill.†

Mr. Thornber says he inspected the road on Cadley Moor, whence it went to Lea, where the most perfect section on the line might be seen. "Even its very surface," he says, "a few years ago was untouched." He says it then runs through Deepdale Wood, crosses the brook Savig, and goes up the hill to Lund. Passing through the garden on the summit of the latter, it made an angle and went to Newton, where an old gentleman of the name of Hornby informed him that he cut through it when sinking a marl pit.

* In some places in this neighbourhood it retains traces of its pavement.

† *History of Preston*, p. 47.

Mr. Thornber found it beyond this in "Gregson's Garden," thence he traced it to Highgate, near which it was very visible where it crossed an occupation lane, and between Highgate and Kirkham it is met with in the ditches and in some of the fields.

Mr. Porter, in his *History of the Fylde* (p. 7), also says that it ran from Kirkham to Lund, and thence to Lea. On the other hand, Mr. Just, tracing it eastwards, says :—

> The Roman road here (at Kirkham) deviates much to the left. . . . Having before it a fine open country, it inclines considerably from the river, and stretches forth to the high point where stands Clifton Church. Numerous and continuous remains of the road now mark out the line, frequently bold and prominent on the headlands of the fields and close to the fences, until the church is reached. Here, again, the line was too much to the right and near the church, *though no traces are visible*, a deviation was made to the north, and away stretched forth the line in its course through Lea towards Fulwood Moor.

Mr. T. Langton Birley also affirms that the road runs from Kirkham to Clifton Mill, and from that point "it appears to bend northward, leaving Deepdale Wood a little south. Traces are now visible at a farm called Ward's House, in Salwick. . . . . In ploughing many of the fields in Newton and Clifton the road is perceptible, being hard and stony." The Ordnance map marks it as running direct from Kirkham to Lund, not coming within a mile of either Newton or Clifton, but as visible only a little beyond Lund, pointing, however, thence towards Deepdale Wood. The writer also can vouch for the road passing through Lund. All authorities agree, however, that it ran to Dowbridge Hill, one of the hills on which Kirkham stands. Mr. Birley says that Mr. Loxham, in straightening a brook near Dowbridge, passed through the gravel bed of the road. The surrounding ground was marshy, and the road was very near the surface. It was so hard that spades were of no use in removing it, and it could hardly be got through with a pickaxe. It was also found in the sides of a number of brooks and ditches about Dowbridge. Mr. Thornber says that Mr. Loxham exposed for him a section of the agger, from which he commenced his search for the traces of the road eastward, and adds—

> I was astonished, not to find one road, but two running side by side perfectly distinct: the one on the left, being three yards wide, consisted of a pretty deep layer of shingle; the other, ten yards, of the coarse red sand of the neighbourhood: the first hard enough for horses, in which shoes are found, and the latter for foot soldiers. Care had been taken to render both lines perfectly dry, by cutting trenches between and on each side of them. The gravel one was lower, as if worn. Was one of these of British formation? &c.

Is the clue to the different versions of the track of the road to be found in this passage? Did the one road branch off from the other? If so, where did the second one lead to? Was it to the ford at Penwortham, and thence to Walton?

Of the station at Kirkham I shall speak hereafter. The modern town, built upon four hills, consists chiefly of one long street, which in some places is on, and in others closely adjoining to the Roman road. At the foot of Mill Hill, on which the station stood, the road was found by Dr. Robson some thirty years ago, "covered with green sod seven or eight yards wide, and sloping off on both sides from the centre, perfectly distinct in the boggy meadow between the brook and the foot of the hill." It crosses the Dow at the foot of Mill Hill. One peculiarity of this road is, that in this flat and marshy country of the Fylde, instead of running directly for its ultimate destination, it runs from hill to hill, making angles on the highest points. It crosses a stream at Kirkham called the Skipbourne, and then ascends the hill on which the workhouse stands, where it was found during the excavations for that structure. Mr. Thornber found it next in what he calls the "Stunted Oak Field," belonging then to a Mrs. Moon, the tree growing upon it. Mr. Just thinks that from just beyond this point to Westby Mill Hill the modern road is upon its site; but Mr. Thornber says he found it by a farmer carting away a coarse red sand opposite Tarnbrick farmyard gate, and on inquiry found that he had been in the habit of taking its materials away for years, as it formed a *ridge* on the left side of the highway. (Is this another instance of two roads side by side?) Mr. Just thought he had found it on Westby Mill Hill, but the Ordnance Survey officer (Mr. Hall) would not attest the traces, though there is no doubt whatever the road ran to this point, where "an old man, named Segar, declared he had ploughed through it many times and oft." Mr. Just found much obliterated traces between here and Plumpton. It runs thence to Weeton Moss, and, says Mr. Thornber,—

> We here, crossing the highway to Mythorp and a valley, have a sight of the highest ridge on the whole line, indeed so large and bulky as well worthy the skill of a railway contractor; there it is, though diminishing yearly to supply gravel for the township highways, to the neglect of the open pits out of which it was constructed.

The author can vouch for the existence of this fragment until March, 1881, but comparatively little reduced in size. Mr. Just says of it, that at Weeton Moss "we have a good specimen. Here, too, modern plunder is fast despoiling

the laborious workmanship of the Romans; the lack of gravel in the district leading the natives to the road of the Romans. The gravel here seems to have been brought from the *debris* of some river." The road next passes over another hill, where only the line of the gravelly substratum is visible on the ground. It then descends into another valley, which it crosses, and owing to the cutting of a large dyke, which partially drained Marton Mere, it became visible in the bed of the latter, and was left bare as the water drained off. Its gravel is here two yards in thickness (1880), and Mr. Thornber's measurements of it when first exposed were, at the crown, twelve yards in breadth, and at the base twenty, "whereas on the sound land it is not more than eight or ten yards. There are no signs of ruts, and I doubt whether any wheeled carriage was used thereon." Mr. Thornber also says, "Many [horse] shoes and pieces of iron have been taken yearly out of the causeway here, as its materials, land gravel, are carted away for the repair of the highways." He adds that he found the remains of a sledge which had been used upon the road. The dyke cuts through the road at this point, which is near Benson's Farm, Staining, in Poulton parish. Mr. Just's words as to this fragment are, "We again detect it in a low hollow towards Weeton Moss, which has not come within the influence of the drainage just mentioned. Here is an immense embankment of several yards in height, its base standing in the water, which cannot get off, from the isolation of its situation." The evidence as to its course again becomes very contradictory. Mr. Just, who, tracing the road from where he could first find remains at its western end, makes the first trace appear half a mile south-east of Poulton, at a farm called "Puddle House," and takes it first in a south-easterly direction, crossing the fields to the next farm; but where it turns to the south-west, to gain the line which it must take in order to reach Staining, he does not say, but informs us that it is visible in the numerous ditches (which separate the fields instead of fences), and thus many sections of it may be seen between "Puddle House," and the large fragment at Staining. Mr. Thornber does not say anything about the road being traceable between these points. His remarks are :—

In the same township (Poulton) we meet with the road again beneath the village of Hardhorn near Puddle House. It is plain enough, though the gravel has been removed, and it is making direct for Poulton which is not far off. Here ends every trace which I dare vouch for, yet it is said that the causeway gained the top of Poulton Hill by the Church Sunday School. I affirm it not, neither do I say that there are some marks of a square fosse around the Church yard.

But he admits that the latter was surrounded by a peculiar ditch and high bank, except on part of the south side. He also says that he had seen two copper coins of Hadrian, found near the Church; and that a large medal of Germanicus had been found in a garden behind the market place. He then continues:—

> I rather think that the agger ran past Poulton on to the Town Fields near Little Poulton Hall having only a branch to Poulton Hill. On the high ground of the Town Fields there is a track of an ancient road which evidently was gravelled over the low lands, and this road leads, by a curious cut through the banks of the Wyre, to the Shard, or as anciently written, Aldwath, or the old ford, so denominated before 1300. . . . The Bergerode of Wyre, so called in old maps, was between the hill of Bourne Hall and that of Stana, and in my opinion was approached from Skippool. It is singular I have paid little or no attention to Stana,* although it has been in my mother's family for a century, and I fancy something has been said of ruins there, and an agger could approach it from Poulton. At Bourne . . . there are certain rough grounds, named Dane's Pad† by the country people.

It is strange that Mr. Thornber does not allude in his paper to his discovery, twenty years previously, of a Roman road in the rabbit warren at Fleetwood, an account of which he published in his *History of Blackpool and Neighbourhood* (1832). He there states that it was found near a spot named the "Abbot's Walk." Shortly after his work was published, it was found with its pavement complete, on the very margin of the warren, by some workmen engaged in excavating a trench for the foundation of a sea wall, opposite Mount Terrace, at some depth beneath the sand. Mr. Porter, in his *History of the Fylde* (1876), p. 7, thus alludes to it:—

> At the shore margin of the warren at Fleetwood there was visible about forty years ago the abrupt and broken termination of a Roman road which could be traced across the sward along the Naze, below Burn Hall [the Bourne Hall of Mr. Thornber and the Ordnance Map] and onward in the direction of Poulton. From that town it ran in a southerly line towards Staining, &c.

We have traced the road to the sea-shore; how much further did it go? The neighbourhood has been much altered since the Roman period, and is still being encroached upon to a large extent by the sea. Roger Dodsworth, writing about the end of the sixteenth century, says that in the year 1555 "a sudden irruption of the sea" occurred near Rossall Grange, and a whole village, called Singleton Thorp was washed away; "the inhabitants were

* Marked as "Steyna" in the Ordnance Map.

† The road all through the Fylde is called "Dane's Pad," probably from those piratical invaders having made frequent use of it. The great hardness of its gravel bank has passed into a proverb—"As hard as the Dane's Pad."

driven out of their ancient home, and erected their tents at a place called Singleton to this day." The spot where the destroyed village stood is now known as "Singleton Skeer," off Cleveleys, which place is a little over a mile to the west of the road. To come to more recent times, Mr. Porter (p. 24) says :—

> The land mark at Rossall Point has been removed several times, owing to the incursions of the sea, and within the memory of the living generation wide tracts of soil, amounting to more than a quarter of a mile westward, have been swallowed up upon that part of the coast. . . . . There may be instanced a farm called Fenny at Rossall which was removed back from threatened destruction by the waves at least four times within the last fifty years, when its rebuilding was abandoned and its site soon swept over by the billows.

It was at this place that a large discovery of Roman silver coins took place in 1840, and Mr. Thornber and his brother—

> saw destroyed, for the sake of its materials, a large paved platform, which I had often fancied had been used for a landing place. At this spot I have heard old people speak of the ruins of a rude, thick-walled circular building, round which it was uncanny to sport.

If Mr. Thornber considered the platform of Roman construction, it could not have been a landing place, as the sea at that time must have been far to the west. That it and the circular building were of the Roman period seems probable from the discovery of the coins, which, when found hidden in hoards, are usually near sites of Roman villas or other buildings.

Many other instances of the incursions of the sea in this neighbourhood might be cited. It appears to be evident that the road was continued over what is now called the North Wharf Sandbank, and parallel with the channel of the Wyre, which falls at almost right angles upon the channel of the Lune, near the lighthouse in Morecambe Bay. Mr. Porter would take the road out to sea, some eight miles from the coast, to "Shell Wharf," a sandbank "so shallowly covered at low-water spring tides that huge boulders become visible all over it." But how far the road proceeded will never, probably, be known. If Mr. Porter's suggestion be correct, that the land on each side of the old channel of the Lune has been overwhelmed, thus making the latter, on the surface, a mere current in the water around, it makes it probable that the station, which was the terminus of the road, stood at the point where the Lune received the stream of the Wyre. That the former river may have had banks to this point in the Roman period is rendered likely by the depth of its channel (twenty-three to twenty-seven fathoms), the sides of this channel being, as the sailors and fishermen of the neighbourhood say, "as steep as a house-side." Whether the station here or that

at Lancaster was the *Portus Setantiorum*, is a question that must at present remain in abeyance. Should Lancaster from any future discovery of inscriptions yield us its name, a further step towards recognising the name of this overwhelmed station will be gained. In the meantime I am inclined to think that it was the *Portus Setantiorum*. There has at some period been a considerable amount of traffic on this road; the number of horseshoes found in its gravel has been very great.

Another Roman road left Ribchester and proceeded to the north-east. It is not visible at or near the station, nor, indeed, until it approaches Salesbury Hall on the opposite bank of the river. Hence it may, from taking this direction, have crossed the Ribble at the same point as the road from Manchester, and branched off from the ford. Several fragments are visible in the wood on the right of the new Whalley Road, to the south of Salesbury Hall. It proceeds through Langho to the right of Hacking, only occasional traces of it being visible, though Mr. Just describes the remains as being very fine some thirty years ago. One or two occupation roads are upon its site in this neighbourhood. It appears to have crossed the Calder at or near "Potter's Ford," though no vestiges are visible on either bank at the present time. Fine remains of it become discernible in the woods on the opposite bank, and it is visible through the fields to Lane Side, where it crosses the modern road between Whalley and Great Mitton. Beyond this point it becomes very evident; it crosses Barrow Brook, and then becomes an occupation road for over a mile, and is crossed in this portion by the railway between Blackburn and Clitheroe. It next crosses the modern road between Whalley and Clitheroe, and as a disused occupation road is visible for some distance, till it crosses Pendleton Brook, on the brink of which Mr. Just saw a fine fragment of it laid open. He says* :—

> Yet modern improvements cannot let be this relic of the Romans. The agger has been levelled near to the brook, and a section of it made worthy of inspection. The gravel has been spread upon the surface of the ground, and a thin charred line marks out the sward covered over by the road-makers. Upon this stratum of gravel a course of flags has been laid, nicely fitting one with another, though not apparently of any definite shape or size. The flags form a nice rounded compact surface, now covered with eight or ten inches of soil, and of the exact width of twenty-one feet.

He adds that this was the most complete patch of this road to be met with inside the Lancashire boundary. It was this part of the road which Pennant†

* *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. 3, p. 3.

† *Tour from Downing to Alston Moor*, p. 82.

names. He says that he rode with Mr. Aspinall, of Standen Hall (in 1773), "for a considerable way along a Roman road that runs very visibly elevated from Clithero Moor, through the fields of Standen Hay, Little Mitton, and to Whalley Moor." On the other side of Pendleton Brook the line continues very visible in the fields for several miles, passing about half a mile east of Clitheroe (in some places fences, &c., being set upon it), but the track is very faint as it ascends to Chatburn, where, on the high ground (the spot usually chosen for a change of direction by the Romans), it makes an angle, and turning more to the eastward, its ridge is very perceptible near Downham. It passes the front of Downham Hall, and ascends the high ground to the east of it, where its track is suddenly lost, but is found again slightly to the south of its former course, in the low ground at the foot of the hill, where it crosses Chatburn Brook and enters Yorkshire. In that county it pursues an east-north-east direction till it reaches a Roman station called "Burwen Castle," about four miles south-west of Skipton, where some curious remains have been found. The road keeps still on to the north-east, and would probably throw out a branch to the Roman villa at Gargrave, which it passes at about three miles distance.

Ribchester appears to have been connected by a direct Roman road with Lancaster. Leaving the *castrum*, it runs north-west, a modern road being formed upon it, past a place called "Dale Hey," another called "Pinfold," and so on to a place called "Preston Wives," where it crosses at right angles a road leading east-north-east from the village of Longridge. About this spot, there can be little doubt it was formerly crossed by the road from Overborough, which, where last traceable on Longridge, is aiming in a direct line for Walton-le-Dale. The Lancaster road keeps on past "Written Stone," where, as a still-used road, it terminates, but passed on near Stoney Croft, and by various fragments now used as lanes, is traceable by "Stoney Lane Farm," "Windy Arbour," near Lickhurst, Broadgate, Stangate, "Street Farm," near Stonehead, about a mile and a half north-east from Shireshead, and appears to have fallen into the road from Walton to Lancaster, somewhere near Galgate. The Ordnance Surveyors have marked it as a Roman road only as far as "Preston Wives."

The road from Manchester to Ribchester is generally considered to have been continued forward up Longridge, communicating with the station by a short road from the point where it forded the river (which road, as I have before said, was a portion of that from Ribchester to the north-east), but, as

usual, near the station the traces of it are lost, until we come to "Cherry Gate" (or Yate), where a road called Stoney Gate Lane ascends the hill. This, though a zig-zag road, is occasionally upon the track of the Roman one, though in most places the latter is to the left of the former, being plainly visible. It continues thus to the summit of the hill, where, near a point called "Jeffrey Hill," it falls at almost right angles on to the road which I have before named as pointing for Walton. As this latter leads direct to Overborough, it is without doubt the track taken in the Tenth Iter. Between this summit of Longridge and the hill at Browsholme the road is still plainly evident by its ridge. It crosses the Hodder about halfway between these places, and from near "Doe Barn" it is used as a lane called Lees Lane. Leaving Browsholme Hall on its right, where it is visible by its ridge, it again is used for a short distance as a lane to near a place called "Batesons." Here a slight angle is made, taking it more towards the north. It then passes Crompton, and over Birkett Fell and Moss, its ridge being very plain. Crossing the Hodder a second time, it passes by a place called "Heaning," and another called "Gamble Hall," and is visible by its elevated ridge for some miles in the parish of Slaidburn, crossing several small streams on the way. It passes on the east side of Low Fell, straight to the foot of Croasdale. Mr. Just's words as to the next portion of its track are worth quoting. He says* :—

> Here commenced a difficulty to the Romans in their progress northward. Immediately in front a steep mountain barred up their passage. The easiest exit from the valley of the Hodder into the vale of Lune by the cross at Greet was too much to the eastward of their course. Nothing therefore but a gradual ascent up Croasdale was left them. From the nature of the ground they were compelled to depart from one of the principles of their military road making. A road in a straight line was impracticable to troops heavily armed. They therefore yielded up this point, but took care that the sloping line of the ascent should be straight notwithstanding; so that a view of the road might be secured from one point to another. Care was also taken that this gradually ascending line in no point approached a steep part of the mountain, from which the troops on their march could be assailed with stones rolled down upon them, or by missiles. In this way the road ascended up Croasdale, and then continued above Whitingdale until it passed the inaccessible heights of Botton Head Fell, the present public road from Slaidburn to Hornby occupying its site the whole way. Where the line of the military road turned off to meet the first remains near the foot of Botton Fell, no one yet has been able to discover; the boggy nature of the soil having in all probability overgrown the bold agger, built by the warriors of Imperial Rome.

The road is found again near the foot of Botton Fell, in an estate called

* *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. i., p. 73.

"Whiteray," or "Whittera," crosses a brook of the same name, and enters another estate called "Swanns," thence on to a place called "Ivah." A few years ago the agger was traceable, with slight exceptions, for the whole of this distance, being then seven yards wide, but many encroachments have since then been made upon it. Its traces beyond this point cease for some distance, as it is buried beneath the sward; though early in the present century, Mr. A. Court, of Lowgill, found it, with its pavement entire, several inches below the surface, in draining a marshy meadow. He laid bare a considerable portion of it.* A fragment of an inscribed stone, and parts of two horseshoes were found beneath its pavement; the former, which was for many years in the possession of Mr. Court, I have endeavoured to trace, but without avail; no representative of his family now remaining in the neighbourhood.

At Lowgill the road reappears, being used for about six hundred yards as the present highway, when it leaves the latter, which here turns eastward. Though no remains are visible above ground, it must have crossed the brook in Tatham, to the south-west of the chapel at that place, for its remains are discovered upon the other side, in the Knott Hill estate, where, about 1820, the owner, Mr. Langstroth, purposely uncovered a portion, the stones and gravel of which were plainly visible; thence its ridge is traceable through the Lower Stock Bridge estate, thence to the Hill estate. Between this point and the river Greeta no certain remains appear above ground, and the track is conjectural, though Mr. Just says, that—

> on the highest point of the Hill estate an angle is formed to gain the ford at Bentham Bridge. Beyond the Wenning, the road falls in with two old roads, and is here again known by the inhabitants as the old Roman road. Having reached the high ground again at Borrens Barn, a deviation to the left was made towards old Wennington. In one place only between these two places, can any traces of the road be seen.

At this "Borrens Barn" there still remain some traces of entrenchments, within which I hope to eventually have some promised excavations made. They have never been noticed, so far as I am aware, by any writer. The name "Borrens" invariably marks, in the north of England, the site of an encampment or a permanent Roman station.†

The road crossed the Greeta, near Old Wennington, by a bridge, the abutments of which, though buried beneath the sod, are still remaining on each bank. The existence of the bridge is also preserved in the traditions

* See Rauthmel's *History of Overborough*, 2nd edit. (1824), p. 134.

† See Appendix.

of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Sixty years ago, in the remembrance of old inhabitants, "courses of hewn stone on both banks were visible."* From this point fine traces of it remain, first by its line of gravel, and afterwards by its ridge, deserted and grass-grown. It was described as follows in 1824,† and though modern improvements have since made serious inroads upon it, the account, in the main, still holds good :—

> A little to the west of Scaleber we had the pleasure of observing a part of it turned up by the plough, the time we were making our investigations. Near Collingholme its agger is not merely visible, but prominent, and nearly perfect; and continues so for a whole mile. The ground here has never been furrowed by the plough, is moist and sedgy; with the way elevated above its surface more than a yard, and very conspicuous, even at a considerable distance, on account of its being overgrown with furze. After it has crossed the brook Kant, it appears at some time past to have been fenced in on both sides. Here its whole breadth, elevation, and even surface in some places are as perfect as when first formed, and trees of considerable size and shrubs of a great age are growing and decaying over its whole area. A by-road thence to Overtown corresponds with the line, and traces of the old Roman remains are still peering up through the desolation of the superior system of road making. ‡

At Overtown the road is abreast, though at a mile's distance to the east, of the station at Overborough *(Galacum)*, with which it has communicated by a branch road. It then crosses the Lac brook, where it is called "High Gate," and for the next few miles is still used as a road called "Wandel's (or Wanderer's) Lane." It leaves the county and enters Westmoreland about half a mile north of Kirkby Lonsdale railway station, passing through Casterton, and thence to the station at Borrowbridge *(Alone)*.

The continuation of the road, which, coming north from Walton through Preston, falls upon the Fylde road on Fulwood Moor, was first alluded to by Dr. Kuerden, who, after giving Dugdale's view of the road to the Wyre (as before quoted), says :—

> Besides it was observed that from this *Ribodunum* (he calls Preston by this name) to the other Roman garrison, the *Longovicus* or Caer Werid of the Britons, their Green Citty (meaning Lancaster), there was another *lesser strata* leading betwixt them as diuers signes of a like rampire ouer Preston and Fulwood, more towards Garstang by Broughton, are yet conspicuous to the observations of many learned men as well as vulgar people.

Every trace of this "lesser strata" has disappeared. In many places the modern road between Preston and Lancaster has been made upon it, and the other portions have been destroyed by agricultural operations.

* Rauthmel's *History of Overborough*, 2nd edit. (1824), p. 135. † *Ibid.*

‡ Mr. Just also describes, in 1848, this portion of the road as the finest.

Dr. Kuerden, in continuation of the above passage, relates the discovery of a hoard of Roman coins in Myerscough Park, "in or near the publiq highway," which latter was the Roman road.

From the discovery of two milestones upon its route, within three miles of Lancaster, bearing the name of the Emperor Philip, A.D. 244-249, it would seem to have been made in his reign, which appears to be confirmed by the smallness of its dimensions and its inferior construction. Dr. Whitaker says* :—

> It is another curious fact that this later Iter is differently constructed from the great Roman pavement of the upper empire. I have been assured by an intelligent person who has seen a portion of it dug up in the Fylde, that it was constructed much like a common highway with small broken stones compacted by time and pressure.

In the last century, when this road was still used as a communication between Lancaster and Preston, it was so much destroyed, that in places vehicles and pack horses had to diverge from its straight line, making a sort of curved track. These curves were utilised by the makers of the new road, and the consequence is, that only on the straight portions of the latter does the Roman road form the substratum. It is probable that by excavation in a straight line within the bow of these curves the Roman road may yet occasionally be found, but for the most part these fragments of it have been entirely destroyed. It appears to have passed through Broughton, by Barton Lodge and Brook, between Myerscough and Bilsborrow Halls, through Claughton, where a portion of it is in old maps called "Fleet Street," perpetuated to this day in a group of four or five cottages, about half a mile from Claughton Hall, called "The Street." It passed to the east of Garstang, near which it made a slight angle, and proceeded almost due north. About four miles further on we find a "Windy Arbour" on its route. Inclining again slightly to the west, it passed through Galgate and on to Burrow, near which the two milestones alluded to were found. Hence it continues straight on to Lancaster. It is doubtful whether it entered the *castrum*, but, seems extremely probable that it passed on the east side of the latter, instead of ascending the hill; and the discovery of a milestone of the reign of the Emperor Decius (the successor of Philip), on the Castle Hill, appears to be confirmatory of this.

The road was continued northward, and Dr. Whitaker, after giving the above-named extract as to its discovery in the Fylde, says :—

* *History of Richmondshire*, vol. 2, p. 213.

I have myself taken up a portion of the same way near the Folly, about a mile from Lancaster to the north, and pointing upon *Concangios* (he erroneously gives this name to the station at Natland, near Kendal), which, in the mode of its construction, precisely corresponded with this account.

A Roman altar has been found at the "Folly" (which is the name of a farm), but no traces of the road are now visible. The latter would doubtless, in its progress northwards, pass the Roman dock near the mouth of the river Keer, and after leaving the county and passing Burton, take Hincaster on its way to Natland. But so experienced an authority as Mr. C. Nicholson, F.S.A., author of the *History of Kendal*, says that he has looked in vain for traces of the Roman road between Lancaster and Kendal, and adds that names are the only guide.

The road connecting Lancaster with Overborough (though from the discovery of the Caton *miliarium* it must have been of the Higher Empire) is as much obliterated as that between Lancaster and Kendal. It ran along the southern bank of the Lune, over Quernmoor, where numerous Roman remains have been found, through Caton, where a milestone of the reign of Hadrian has been discovered, under Hornby Castle, which seems to have been the site of a Roman villa or outpost, from discoveries made there, and it must then have fallen upon the road from Ribchester to Overborough at nearly right angles.

There are at Overborough traces of the agger of a road running down to the river Lune, which appears to have been crossed by a bridge, as numerous blocks of oak may be seen at the bottom of the river, the remains of piles, &c. Possibly the bridge has been entirely of wood. The road is pointing for the station at Natland, but is lost on the other side of the river; the portion of its course in Lancashire would be only about two miles.

It is almost certain that Lancaster would have communication eastwards with the stations in Yorkshire, and, accordingly (though no remains of a road in that direction are visible near the town), we find traces of a road crossing that between Ribchester and Overborough at Ivah. The fragments are visible on each side of the latter, and the road has run nearly east and west. The portion on the eastern side of the Overborough road is the best preserved, part being still used as a road, and beyond this it is visible in a large pasture field. If produced in each direction, it would seem to connect Lancaster with Aldborough; but that such is the case I am not prepared to say. The road has not been a large one, and has not been traced beyond the neighbourhood of Ivah. That it is ancient is certain; that it is Roman seems from its appearance most probable.

Whether the Romans had a road across the "Lancaster Sands," or Lancaster portion of Morecambe Bay, is an undecided point, but that a Roman road is visible, leading from the shore on the other side of the Bay, in Cartmel, is certain. If it crossed the Bay, it would seem to have branched off from the road between Lancaster and Natland, near where the Roman dock was found, at the mouth of the Keer. It becomes visible near Wyke in Cartmel, where it is found in Pigeon Cote Lane, thence runs to Flookburgh, where a portion of it still remains. It proceeds towards Sandgate, and would then cross Cartmel Sands and the channel of the Leven, and is found at the White Thorn at Conishead Bank, near the Priory, also at Mountbarrow, where its pavement of large stones was discovered in the adjacent lane, many years ago. It then passes by Street Gate, across the turnpike road to Ulverston, and on to Lindale; from there proceeding to Dalton, where it was found by some workmen digging in 1803, at a considerable depth from the surface. It then proceeded up "Dale Lane" by St. Helens and Goldmire, crossing Godwene, and proceeding by Moor Foot and Roanhead, crossed the Duddon Sands into Cumberland.* Near Ireleth Gate it is called "Wreak's Causeway."

The Rev. J. West, author of the *Antiquities of Furness*, in a letter to Rev. J. Whitaker, author of the *History of Manchester* (now in my possession), undated, but evidently written in 1776, says:—

> I have satisfied myself concerning a Roman road, that traversed Furness from the *Spina Alba* on Conishead Bank to Duddon Sands. *Street* and *Street Yate* in an old perambulation roll gave the hint of it. Some roods of an agger, discovered in repairing the road last month of March, led to a further proof: a piece of a vallum preserved by falling within the churchyard at Dalton, the faint appearance of a tumulus at Mount Barrow How near the road, a Roman bronze vessel found last summer at no great distance from the same road, are corroborative evidences that the Romans have been there.

Again Mr. Baines† says: "Traces of a Roman road have been perceived on the eastern borders of Satterthwaite pointing towards Ambleside, and apparently constructed as a vicinal way from Low Furness." This road has since been occasionally found in other places on the west and south-west of Windermere. It appears to have been a small road, like that from Blackrode to Anglezark, &c., and I opine branches off from the last-named road near Conishead.

* Stockdale, *Annales Caermolenses*, p. 243; *Lancashire and Cheshire, Past and Present*, vol i., p. 241; West's *History of Furness*, p. 8; Baines' *History of Lancashire*, vol. iv. (edit. 1836), pp. 627 and 686; Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary of England*, article "Dalton in Furness;" *Trans. Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Society*, vol. iii., p. 71.

† *History of Lancashire*, vol iv., p. 704.

Castercliffe, near Colne, has been the centre of several roads, though they are small ones, probably vicinal ways. One running westwards from that *castrum*, crosses the Calder, and then making an angle to the south-west has been exposed near Newchurch in the Forest of Pendle, passes along Wheatley Lane, and is traceable above Sabden to the camp at Portfield, directing its course towards the road running north-east from Ribchester, into which it fell.* Another road from Castercliffe ran nearly southwards,† and seems pointing for the two small stations at "Twist Castle" and "Ringstones Camp" to the east of Burnley, but it is only traceable to about half a mile east of Haggate. North from Castercliffe it appears to have passed through the town of Colne and entered Yorkshire.‡

There are a number of minor roads of undoubted Roman origin, but too numerous to be specially described. A few, however, should be named, amongst them is one which enters the county from Yorkshire at Stiperden. It is known by the name of the "Long Causeway" (it is so marked on the Ordnance Map), and its original pavement remains in places. From Stiperden it ascends to Duke's Cross, thence to Maiden Cross, next to Mereclough, where "finds" of coins occurred in 1695 and 1765, and on by Cliviger to Burnley.

Another road appears to have led from the camp at Portfield towards Burnley.§ It has been continued on to Ringstones Camp on Worsthorne Moor, where, in 1879, I found it visible, leading from the main road at a gate adjoining a farmhouse, named "Botten." I ascertained by measurement that it was only seven feet in width, and it is at present about two feet above the level of the pasture land to the west of the open moor. It is paved with boulders, and is lost for some distance on the moor between the pasture land and the fort, but becomes visible again outside the south-west wall of the latter.

A Roman road leading from the station at Melandra Castle, on the Derbyshire bank of the Mersey, about a mile east-south-east of Mottram, after passing through a portion of Cheshire, where it is known as Stayley Lane, enters Lancashire at Stalybridge, and about a quarter of a mile to the north of that town is still used as a road, being called "Stayley Street." About a mile from the town a "Windy Harbour" occurs on its route, and between Luzley and Mossley it is again used as a highway. It enters Yorkshire at

* *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. xvii., p. 267. † *Ibid.*, Map in vol ix., p. 33. ‡ *Ibid.*
§ *Ibid.*, vol. xvii., p, 267.

the latter place, after a course of two and a half miles through Lancashire, and a little more than two miles further on falls into the road from *Mancunium* to *Cambodunum*, at a place called "Doctor Head."

Amongst the numerous ancient "pack-horse" roads of the county, there is one bearing the name of "Reddyshore Scout Gate," running between Littleborough and Todmorden, which may have had a Roman origin, but has been so much altered in the middle ages that it retains few, if any, traces of Roman work. It ascends the hills from Littleborough, and proceeds chiefly over moorland. It is very narrow, and though it has been altered so as to allow of vehicles using it, one vehicle only could have passed along it. The alterations consisted in placing a centre and two side lines of stones, which are much worn by the tread of horses and the passage of wheels respectively. The road is formed of irregularly-shaped blocks of millstone grit of all sizes. It is needful to mention these particulars as the road has been brought forward as an evidence that the Blackstone Edge road was similarly made, and that its trough had been formed in the same manner. But the latter has been unmistakeably cut out with a chisel in the first place, is perfectly regular, and convex at the bottom, whilst the track on Reddyshore Scout is irregular, concave at the bottom, and of varying depth and width, bearing every appearance of having been worn by the feet of horses. It has had two successors, which take different routes between the same points (Littleborough and Todmorden). Of the older of these the date of its construction is not known, it is locally called the "Old Road." The other was made some sixty years since. Amongst the natives, Reddyshore Scout Gate still bears the name of the "Roman road." I apprehend, from some short distances of old road visible beyond Todmorden, that this road originally fell into the "Long Causeway," near Stiperden.

Whether any Roman road passed near Liverpool is unknown, but in 1858, in excavating for sewers, some three hundred yards east of St. Mary's Church, Grassendale, near Garston,—

> A Roman [?—W.T.W.] pavement was discovered about seven feet below the present surface, and evidently forming part of a Roman road of great breadth, and apparently running in a south-easterly direction towards Garston or Hale. The pavement was formed of large and small boulder stones, closely jointed together and laid flat, and was perfectly level, and without any rise in the centre. The surfaces of many of the stones were worn smooth by traffic.*

A year or two previously another portion of the same road was found at the

* *Builder*, October 9th, 1858.

depth of five feet, near Otterspool, similarly paved. No competent antiquaries appear to have seen these fragments. If the road was Roman, I opine it proceeded to Widnes or its neighbourhood, where there would be a ferry, or *trajectus*, to the Roman post at Halton, on the Cheshire side of the river. The discovery at Ditton of Roman remains may help to point out its track.

Mr. Baines* records the discovery of a pavement composed of blue boulder stones, found about 1815 in a piece of waste land near Penwortham Lodge, which was immediately destroyed by the workmen. Is was about four feet wide, and about one hundred yards of it were laid bare. He suggests that it was Roman, but it was probably a small road in connection with Penwortham Priory.

That there was a road connecting the small station at Walton-le-Dale with Ribchester direct seems almost certain, but the many changes in the banks of the Ribble, which have destroyed the traces of nearly all the roads close to Ribchester, have had the same effect on this one.

The Rev. W. Thornber† says that he could corroborate, by his researches, the tradition of there having been a Roman vicinal way from Kirkham to Elswick, which is about four miles to the north-north-west, and adds a note to this effect: "Since I wrote the above, I have visited this place, where I was told by a native, upwards of seventy years of age, . . . that deep beneath the ground he had dug up a pavement of boulders tending to Kirkham, in the midst of the village."

In his *History of Manchester*,‡ the Rev. J. Whitaker most erroneously describes what is known as the "Nico Ditch" (probably a Saxon dyke) as a Roman road. He seems to mix up with this, another fragment of old road, which may have been Roman. The following description of an old road, traceable in several places round Manchester, embraces the fragment named, and was communicated to the *Manchester Guardian* by a correspondent. The road is now nearly obliterated:—

> The name of this vicinal way, as pronounced by the inhabitants of the locality, is "Pink Pank Lane," and not "Pink Bank Lane," as it is styled in most of the parochial maps; its etymology appears buried in obscurity, no one presuming to offer an explanation of it; tradition is silent on this head. It is generally known as the "Old London Road." The old people state, it was currently believed in their younger days one branch went from Rochdale, and another from Manchester

* *History of Lancashire*, vol. iii., p. 489 (edit. 1836).
† *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. iii., pp. 62-3.
‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 235-6.

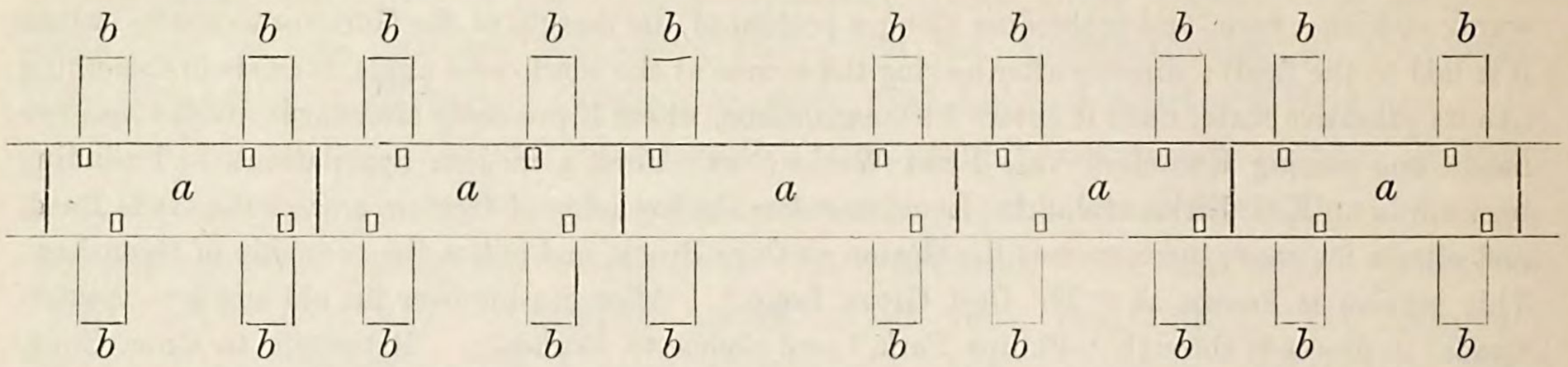
(uniting in the hamlet of Kirkmanshulme, township and chapelry of Newton Heath) to Macclesfield, and from thence to London. After leaving Levenshulme, near the junction of that township, Reddish and Gorton, it crosses the Nicker Ditch, and enters the township of Gorton, shortly afterwards making a turn, and proceeding along a portion of the margin of the Gorton racecourse (where it is laid to the field); directly after leaving the course at the south-west angle, it exists in something like its primitive state, until it enters Kirkmanshulme, where it presently afterwards divides into two heads, one passing Knutsford Vale Print Works (Nut's Ford, a modern appellation), and winding backwards up Ked (Kirkmanshulme) Lane, re-enters the township of Gorton, crosses the Hyde Road, and after a few more turns crosses the Gorton or Corn Brook, and enters the township of Openshaw. This portion is known as "Th' Owd Green Lone." After passing over the old and new Ashton Roads, it proceeds through "Philips Park," and thence to Rochdale. Returning to Crow Croft, Kirkmanshulme, the other branch passes on to the Stockport Road, and for a short distance blends or identifies itself with that ancient Roman road, crossing the Rushbrook with it at Rushford; but shortly afterwards diverting to the left, where it is modernised for a considerable distance, but still retains the name of Birch Lane. Near Birch School (at the back of St. John's, Longsight), it takes a sudden turn, where, doubtless, Whitaker saw it; it proceeds through Birch Hall Fold, and thence, I presume, winds round to old *Mancunium*.

This account is certainly not a description of *one* Roman road. There may have been several small vicinal ways running into each other as described, but they are of a late period. Has one of them been a continuation of the road which Whitaker saw laid bare near Rochdale?

A very peculiar wooden pathway is the only other road to be noticed. It occurs on the eastern bank of the Wyre, about four miles east of Fleetwood, and is traceable in a straight line for about a mile and a half through Pilling and Stalmine Mosses, between Pilling Hall and Hales Hall. Like the road from Ribchester to the Wyre, it is named "Danes Pad." It is formed of large oak trees sawn asunder, in some places of one large tree, and in others of several. These are laid upon sleepers, to which they are fastened by wooden pegs, which are driven through them into the peat beneath. The average width is twenty inches, and the road is now several feet beneath the surface of the moss. It is rapidly disappearing, from modern inroads upon it. The origin of the road is lost in obscurity, but as Roman articles have been found in the adjoining mosses, it is conjectured that it may be as ancient as the Roman period, though it is quite as likely that it may be of mediæval origin.* At the supposed termination of this road, there is a field completely full of round holes, somewhat similar to the "Penpits" in Somersetshire. The road may possibly, therefore, be British,

* *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. iii., p. 120; also Fishwick's *History of Garstang*, and Porter's *History of the Fylde*, p. 9.

and may have led to a British village. The annexed diagram will shew the nature of its construction :—



a Danes Pad. *b* The sleepers. ▯ The square holes through the planks by which they are staked at alternate corners.

Another small raised path of turf in the same neighbourhood bears the name of "Kate's Pad." I do not think it Roman.

One error in the description of the Roman road between Manchester and Ribchester, which originated with Dr. Whitaker, and has been perpetuated by the Rev. E. Sibson and others, has to be noticed. In his *History of Whalley*, Dr. Whitaker takes this road by Uglow Pike and Pikelow, and by Oswaldtwistle, Stanhill, and Knuzden. Mr. Sibson* says :—

> The road from Manchester to Ribchester goes over the bleak mossy ground between Ug-low and Pik-lowe, above Haslingden Grange ;† and the road is found here in the peat moss about four feet below the surface, and is formed of nothing more than a layer of sand, about a foot in thickness, spread over the soft boggy earth.

And at p. 576 of the same vol., he says that the road at this point is a hollow way, and about a yard below the surface. These passages of Mr. Sibson's misled me when writing my paper on the "Tenth Iter of Antoninus," in vol. 28 of the *Archæological Journal*, though fortunately the error did not affect the general tenor of it.

As a matter of fact, the Roman road runs nearly two miles westward of the places indicated ; yet so late as 29th May, 1882, a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* says that this Roman road may be found in the heather above Haslingden Grane.‡

In concluding this chapter on the Roman roads of the county, let me remark that though to some it may seem tedious and superfluous to enter into such a matter in detail, no genuine antiquary can afford to overlook these

* Baines' *History of Lancashire,* vol. iii., p. 586 (edit. 1836). † This word should be "Grane."

‡ It is quite possible that some traces of a road may have been observed here by Mr. Sibson and others, but they are certainly no part of the road between Ribchester and Manchester.

old pioneers of civilisation. Whether in peace or war, they were the means by which the Roman power was made to be speedily felt. Wherever modern civilisation spreads, the railway follows in the track of armies. So it was with ancient Rome. The grand and massive roads, which to this day are a marvel, were as great advances over the barbarous means of communication eighteen hundred years ago as the railway is at the present day over the old stage coach; and everything that withdraws us from the present, and brings before us the nature of the civilisation which our forefathers, in the infancy of our national history, received, is a distinct gain, not only to the study of archæology, but to the history of our race.*

* It must be borne in mind, that many portions of the roads named in this chapter may have been destroyed within the last few years. The author speaks of them either as he last saw them, or as they were when he last received information as to them.

CHAPTER IV.

MANCUNIUM.

The Roman *castrum* at Manchester was, like most other Roman fortresses, situated on a *lingula*, or tongue of land, formed by a curve of the river Medlock. The river approached nearest to the fortress at the southern angle of the latter, from which it was distant about eighty-five feet, forming a defence on the south-western side, a partial one on the south-eastern, and a more distant one on the north-western. The river Irwell, running north and south, approaches nearest to the *castrum* opposite its western angle, from which it is distant about 528 yards, the junction of the Medlock with it occurring some 130 yards lower down. This proximity of the Irwell, and the intervention of a morass between it and the *castrum*, proved a second line of defence to the latter on its north-western side.

The fortress occupied a slightly-elevated plateau, which had a gentle slope towards the south. In shape it was a parallelogram, the angles of which almost exactly faced the cardinal points. The north-eastern and south-western sides measured 490 feet in length, and the north-western and south-eastern sides 440 feet, thus giving an area of about five acres. Whether a British post occupied the site previously to the advent of the Romans is a problem which can hardly now be solved. Possibly such was the case, as the Rev. J. Whitaker, in his *History of Manchester*, asserts ; for from amongst the large mass of visionary, hypothetical, and irrelevant matter in which that author indulges, one or two facts may be culled which would warrant such a conjecture, though there is no doubt that Whitaker mistakes some of the Roman exterior trenches for British works.* Like another fortress on the line of the Tenth Iter (Whitley Castle), *Mancunium* on its more exposed sides (north-eastern and south-eastern) would probably have more than one rampart and ditch, but at the present day it is impossible, from the site having long been built upon, to form any conclusion. In William Green's map (nine sheets, A.D. 1787-94)

* Whitaker gives the British town the name of "Mancenion," for which, it should be remembered, there is no authority whatever. It is a name of his own creation. He also makes out the British fort to be thirteen acres in extent—nearly three times that of the Roman one.

Plan,
OF THE SITE OF
MANCUNIUM,

DRAWN FROM E. CORBETTS MAP 1850 AND THE ORDNANCE SURVEY.

SCALE 88 FEET TO 1 INCH

NOTE.

British Letters refer to the supposed British remains described by Whitaker.

DOTTED LINES, thus, ... shew the outline of the Station as given in Green's Map, 1795; the walls being then visible.

LIVERPOOL ROAD
WELLINGTON PLACE
ST. MATTHIAS CHURCH SCHOOL
DUKE STREET
ROBERT STREET
BRIDGEWATER STREET
DEANSGATE
CANAL
CANAL STREET
WELLINGTON PLACE
DUKE STREET
HANSON STREET
ANN ST. REET
COLLIER STREET
MANOR STREET
SITE OF ROMAN TOWN
ACCORDING TO WHITTAKER
WALL VISIBLE 1850
WALL VISIBLE 1850
WALL VISIBLE 1850
WALL VISIBLE 1850
EXCAVATED 1849
ROMAN
Many Graves &c Relics Found
ROMAN
Knott Mill Station
TUNNEL OPENED 1840
Manchester South Junction & Altrincham Railway
CEMETERY
Warehouse
Railway Constructed in 1848
WALL VISIBLE 1850 in 1848
WALL VISIBLE
GATEWAY VISIBLE 1810
GRAVE VISIBLE 1850
OLD SURFACE EXISTENT 1850
MANCUNIUM
Foundation Discovered
Hollow way to the Ford
Warehouse
OFFICE
Railway Constructed
ROCHDALE TOWING PATH CANAL
Warehouse
Knott Mill
RIVER MEDLOCK
WALL VISIBLE 1850
Garden with Walls of the Roman Materials
Stone Stairs Found
Galloway's Iron Works
RIVER MEDLOCK
TUNNEL
Original Course of River
DUKE OF BRIDGEWATER'S CANAL
RIVER MEDLOCK
The upper scarping of Fort was found running Westward.
NOW USED AS PART OF CANAL
BRIDGEWATER VIADUCT
CHESTER ROAD
Owen Street

T. Brakell, Litho. Liverpool.

nothing but the Roman site is indicated,* and the Ordnance Survey in 1844 gives the same result. The annexed lithograph, based upon both the Ordnance Map and Mr. Green's, is a copy of one made in 1850 by Mr. Corbett, for the use of the members of the *British Archæological Association* with a few alterations inserted. Such faint vestiges of ancient *Mancunium* as then remained were again surveyed by Mr. Corbett,† but, except a fragment of the wall of a building within the *castrum*, all traces are now obliterated.‡

As to the date of the erection of the station, I have before said there can be little or no doubt that it was erected either in the propraetorship of Petilius Cerealis, A.D. 71-75, or in that of Agricola, A.D. 78-84. Whitaker unhesitatingly names Agricola as its founder; but from the state of subjection to which Cerealis had reduced the Brigantes, it is just as likely that he ordered its erection. A pig of lead was, in 1838, found east of Chester, whilst making the railway to Crewe, close to the Roman road leading from Chester to Northwich and Manchester. It bore an inscription to Vespasian in his fifth Consulate, and to Titus in his third Consulate, which synchronizes with A.D. 74. An inscription upon its side informs us that it was from the mines of the *Cangi* (inhabitants of North Wales). We gather also from the 1607 edition of Camden's *Britannia*, that of twenty pigs of lead found shortly before, somewhere near Runcorn, on the river side, a portion bore the date of A.D. 76, and others A.D. 81, with the same inscription referring to the *Cangi*. These inscriptions teach us that not only were the lead mines in North Wales being worked as early as A.D. 74, but that Chester and the roads leading from it to Manchester by Northwich, and to Warrington by Frodsham, &c., were then in existence. As the former of these roads would scarcely be made to Northwich only, we may safely assume that it was continued on to Manchester, and thus that *Mancunium* was in existence in A.D. 74. Indeed, as the *Cangi* were subdued as early as *circa* A.D. 48 (*ante*, p. 4), and as Ostorius, at the same time, after crushing a revolt of the Brigantes, did not "prosecute any new enterprise till his former were completed and secure," there is a *possibility* of the erection of *Mancunium* thus early, as one of the means of this security.

* Green's Map indicates a peculiar deviation from the parallelogramic form at the southern end of the north-western side, which I think is erroneous, though the wall was in existence in his time.

† I have retained in the map what Mr. Corbett calls "remains of the British fort," based upon Whitaker's assertions. They were probably connected with the suburban buildings of the station. The "hollow way to the ford" is doubtless Roman.

‡ It is possible that portions may exist beneath some of the buildings around or on the site.

About two years since, the first of the large series of *fresco* paintings with which the new Town Hall of Manchester is to be decorated was executed. The subject was "The Building of *Mancunium*," and in the foreground of the picture is introduced a sack, inscribed LEG. VI. VICTRICIS. This is an unmistakeable error, for we know, from an inscription found at Rome,* that the Sixth Legion did not come into Britain until A.D. 120, when it accompanied the Emperor Hadrian.†

As we shall see directly, every *inscribed* building-stone or tile found at Manchester was set-up by bodies of troops which we know were in Britain many years previous to the arrival of the Sixth Legion. Three of these stones were erected by the First Cohort of the Frisiavones (COH. I. FRISIAVONVM), and record the amount of wall built by different centuries of the cohort, which regiment we know, from the Sydenham *tabula* of the Emperor Trajan, was in Britain in A.D. 103. That it was also here in A.D. 124 we know from the Riveling *tabula* of Hadrian; and the *Notitia* names it as being here at the very close of the Roman power in the island. To which legion this auxiliary cohort was attached is not known *with certainty*, but as a tile of the Twentieth Legion has been found at *Mancunium*, the cohort was, I have little doubt, one of the auxiliaries of the latter, which came over to Britain A.D. 43, and had for two or three centuries its head quarters at Chester. The tile is valuable as shewing that the Twentieth Legion, or part of it, was engaged in tile making at *Mancunium*. What this could be for, unless the building of the *castrum*, it is difficult to say, as the legion never appears to have been stationed there. The epigraphic evidence, therefore, points to the fact of at least a portion of the Twentieth Legion, and one of its auxiliary cohorts, as the builders of the fortress. Possibly also the Third Cohort of the *Bracarae* assisted, as two tiles, stamped C. III. BR. have been found, and this cohort, according to the Malpas *tabula*, was in Britain in A.D. 104, and was no doubt attached to the Twentieth Legion.

On the other hand there is no evidence that any part of the Sixth Legion was stationed at *Mancunium*. An altar to "Fortune," it is true, was erected there by a centurion of that corps, but (as in numerous other instances) he was probably in command of an auxiliary cohort, or may have been passing through the station. In any event, the date of the altar must have been subsequent to A.D. 120, and it cannot be admitted as evidence of the building of the *castrum*, in the face of the inscribed walling-stones and tiles.

* Gruter, 457.

† See my letter in *Manchester Guardian*, 21st September, 1880.

Leland, who visited Manchester *circa* A.D. 1540, was the first in modern times to describe the remains of the Roman fortress. He says* :—

> And almost ii. flyte shottes withowt the towne beneth on the same side of Irwel yet be seene the dikes and fundations of Old Man Castel yn a ground now inclosed. The stones of the ruines of this castel wer translated toward making of bridgges for the towne.

Camden, who visited the town some sixty years subsequently, says of it† :—

> In a park of the Earl of Derby in this neighbourhood, called Alparc, I saw foundations of an old square tower, called Mancastle, where the river falls into the Irwell. I do not affirm this to have been the antient *Mancunium*, as it incloses but a small space, but rather some station of the Romans, &c.

The next writer of importance (for Hollinworth, in his *Mancuniensis*, gives no new information, with the exception of an inscription hereafter to be noticed, and this is given incorrectly) was Dr. Stukeley, who visited the town about 160 years ago, and his remarks are‡ :—

> A Roman *castrum* was on the west side, going for Chester by Stretford, and on the northern bank of the river Medlock. It is a small piece of level ground, somewhat higher than that around it. It does not cover the whole piece, but is a square, five hundred feet one way, four hundred the other; nor can it be said to be ditched about, but the ground beside it for some distance is manifestly removed into the castle, and spread along its verge, not as a regular *vallum*, but sloping inwards; by this means the area of it is higher on the sides than in the middle, and the exterior ground is lowered around to the foot of the castle, which is steep, like the side of the *vallum*. Upon this edge there has been a wall, quite round; the foundations of it are to be discovered almost everywhere, in some places large parcels of it are left, but not above ground. Now they call it the Castle Croft.

He adds, that he did not consider the Medlock ran near enough to it for defence, and that it was a quarter of a mile from the then town of Manchester.

Dr. Stukeley here brings to our notice a fact overlooked by other authors. From what I have been told by several friends, who saw the remains of the *castrum* some sixty years ago, notably Mr. E. Corbett,§ and from my own inspection, *Mancunium* appears to have stood upon a rock, with a very slight depth of soil, perhaps only a few inches. But from the accounts of every writer on the subject, there was an earthen embankment all round, on which stood the wall. In the course of ages this would gradually be worn down at

* *Hearne's Leland*, vol. v., p. 94 (edit. 1769-70).

† *Gough's Camden*, vol. iii., p. 127 (edit. 1789).

‡ *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 55.

§ Mr. Corbett, speaking of the portion of "Castle Field" unbuilt upon in 1850, says, "I do not *know* that earth had not been removed from the site, but I believe there was no great depth, not more than one, or may be two feet, to make up irregularities. Generally speaking, the field was in 1850 a bare, rocky, and grassy plain, with few things ancient or modern upon it."

the sides, and present the appearance which Stukeley describes. It is owing to the slight depth of soil which covered the area that so few sculptured and inscribed stones have been found.

Horsley, who saw the *castrum* a few years later, gives but a brief account of it, for he says* :—

> When I was at Manchester, I examined with care the Roman station itself. It is about a quarter of a mile out of the town, being south or south-west from it. The station now goes by the name of *Giant's Castle* or *Tarquin's Castle*, and the field in which it stands is called *Castle Field*. The river runs near it on the south-east side. The ramparts are still very conspicuous.

As it is from earlier writers only, that we can obtain a correct idea of the appearance of the site in the last century, and up to the time of its destruction, it becomes necessary to quote the long description of it given by the Rev. J. Whitaker in his *History of Manchester*.† Speaking of its dimensions and the appearance of the ruined walls, he says :—

> The eastern side, like the western, is an hundred and forty [yards—W. T. W.] in length, and for eighty yards from the northern termination the nearly perpendicular rampart still carries a crest of more than two in height. It is then lowered to form the great entrance, the *porta praetoria* of the camp; the earth there running in a ridge, and mounting up to the top of the bank about ten in breadth. Then rising gradually, as the wall falls away, it carries an height of more than three for as many at the south-eastern angle. And the whole of this wall bears a broken line of thorns above, shews the morter peeping here and there under the coat of turf, and, near the south-eastern corner, has a large buttress of earth continued for several yards along it. The southern side, like the northern, is an hundred and seventy five in length; and the rampart, sinking immediately from its elevation at the eastern end, successively declines, till about fifty yards off it is reduced to the inconsiderable height of less than one. And about seventeen further there appears to have been a second gateway, the ground rising up to the crest of the bank for four or five at the point. . . . One on the south was particularly requisite, . . . in order to afford a passage to the river; but about fifty-three yards beyond the gate, the ground betwixt both falling away briskly to the west, the rampart, which continues in a right line along the ridge, necessarily rises till it has a sharp slope of twenty in length at the south-western angle. And all this side of the wall, which was from the beginning, probably, not much higher than it is at present, as it was sufficiently secured by the river, and its banks before it, appears crested at first with an hedge of thorns, a young oak rising from the ridge and rearing its head considerably over the rest, and runs afterwards in a smooth line, nearly level for several yards with the ground about it, and just perceptible to the eye, in a rounded eminence of turf. At the south-western point of the camp, the ground slopes away on the west towards the south, as well as on the south towards the west. And the third side still runs from it nearly as at first, having an even crest, about seven feet in height, an even slope of turf for its whole extent, and the wall in all its original condition below. About an hundred yards beyond the angle, was the *Porta Decumana* of the station, the ground visibly rising up the ascent of the bank in a large shelve

* *Britannia Romana*, p. 415.

† Vol. i., p. 49 (2nd edit., 1773).

of gravel, and running in a slight but perceivable ridge from it. And beyond a level of forty-five yards, that still stretches on for the whole length of the side, it was bounded by the western boundary of the British city, the sharp slope of fifty to the morass below it. On the northern and remaining side are several chasms in the original course of the rampart. And in one of them, about an hundred and twenty-seven yards from its commencement, was another gateway, opening into the station directly from the road to Ribchester. The rest of the wall still rises about five and four feet in height, planted all the way with thorns above, and exhibiting a curious view of the rampart below. Various parts of it have been fleeced of their facing of turf and stone, and now shew the inner structure of the whole, presenting to the eye the undressed stones of the quarry, the angular pieces of rock, and the round boulders of the river, all bedded in the morter, and compacted by it into one. And the white and brown patches of morter and stone, on a general view of the wall, stand strikingly contrasted with the green turf that entirely conceals the level line, and with the green moss that half reveals the projecting points of the rampart. The great foss of the British city, the Romans preserved along their northern side for more than thirty yards beyond the eastern end of it, and for the whole beyond the western. And as the present appearances of the ground intimate, they closed the eastern point of it with an high bank, which was raised upon one part of the ditch, and sloped away into the other.

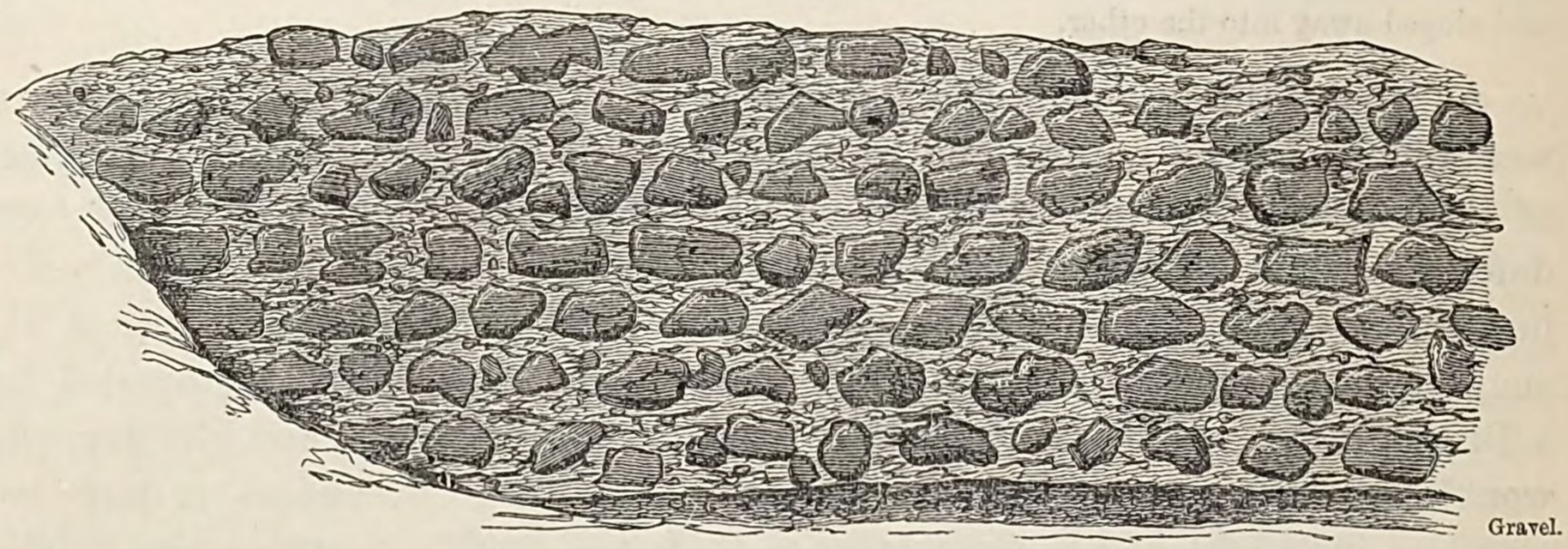
As what Whitaker calls the "northern side" (in reality the north-eastern) was undefended by nature, and was also the side most exposed to the attack of the enemy, *i.e.*, the Brigantes and Caledonians, we may be sure that extra defences would be made there, and such, I opine, was the large ditch which he seems to think was of British construction; but as he is the only writer who suggests that *Mancunium* was built partly upon, and partly surrounded by, a British camp—whilst such notable antiquaries as Camden and Horsley, who would certainly have noticed the fact, are silent as to it, and as we have had previous instances of his incorrectness (*vide* the roads), it seems certain that we must consider his view at least very doubtful. The low situation of the station, on a *lingula*, is against its being of British origin, for British camps were almost invariably (if not entirely) on heights; but the position is just that which the Romans chose.

The same author gives us some particulars as to the composition of the wall, which are interesting. At p. 45 he tells us that the wall had a foundation of "paving stones," bedded in clay.

This I ascertained on opening the stationary wall in two parts of it. I cut it down from the surface to the center, and from the center to the base, in order to see the curious construction of it within and below, and found all the lime laid parts in both, rising from two layers of stones cemented with clay. . . . . But the Roman walls at Manchester were not uniformly founded on the same sort of cement. The western was laid on two beds of blue clay, the lower nearly a foot in depth and remarkably stiff and solid. But the southern was laid in two courses, not of actual clay, but of clay and sand incorporated together.

By paving stones, Whitaker evidently means boulders, for many Roman fortresses have a similar foundation, *e.g.*, the large *castrum* at Richborough.* The thickness of the wall was at the base seven or eight feet, according to the same author, who also tells us that "the corners were rounded." This last is a common feature in Roman stations, but neither Green nor the Ordnance Surveyors have marked it, probably because no portion of the wall was visible at the angles or corners.

It was in the years 1843-44 that Mr. Still of the Ordnance Survey made a plan of the site of the *castrum*. To do so he laid bare most of the fragments of wall then existing. One fragment, on the south-easterly side, was at the time roughly sketched by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., to whom I am indebted for a copy, which forms the subject of the annexed engraving.



Scale.—$\frac{3}{8}$in. to 1ft.

According to Sir Henry, the fragment was thirteen feet in length, by four feet high, and had originally been seven feet thick; the old face was almost entirely gone. The old joints at the face were about half an inch wide; the joints, inside, two or three inches wide; the stones twelve and fifteen inches long, and five to eight inches thick. The foundation was large gravel, and the subsoil sand and fine gravel.

The usual amount of pounded tile, Whitaker tells us, was visible in the mortar, and he also notices the fact that holes were left in the walls at certain distances. In 1772 he saw five or six of them, similar to those in the walls at Lymne, St. Albans, and Old Sarum. At the latter place, he says, they were all regular arches, five or six feet from each other. "And as late as the year

* *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver*, &c., p. 38.

1769 there was an arch appearing in the rampart of the Castle Field, a little to the west of the south-eastern angle, and the crown of it rose just above the ground." It has not yet been satisfactorily determined for what purpose these holes in the walls of Roman *castra* were made. There does not *appear* to have been any courses of bonding tiles in the wall, as at some Roman stations, but, in the total absence of the facing-stones, this point cannot be determined.

The inscribed stones, &c., which have been found, and which have originally been built into the face of the wall, have next to be described. The first two recorded (now lost) were brought into notice by Camden, in the 1607 edition of his *Britannia*. One (which he saw), he tells us, was thus inscribed* :—

Ↄ. CANDIDI	*Ↄ. (centuria) Candidi*
FIDES XX	*Pedes xxiiii.*
IIII.	

Camden is evidently wrong in reading FI at the commencement of the second line. It should be PE for *Pedes*, and the translation is *literally* "The century of Candidus. Feet twenty-four." Or, as we should render it, "The century of Candidus (built) twenty-four feet."

Camden tells us, also, that Dr. Dee (then Warden of the Collegiate Church) copied for him another inscription found at the *castrum*, which was inscribed† :—

COHO. I. FRISIN	*Cohortis I. Frisavonum*
Ↄ. MASAVONIS	*Centuria Masavonis*
P. XXIII.	*Pedes xxiii.*

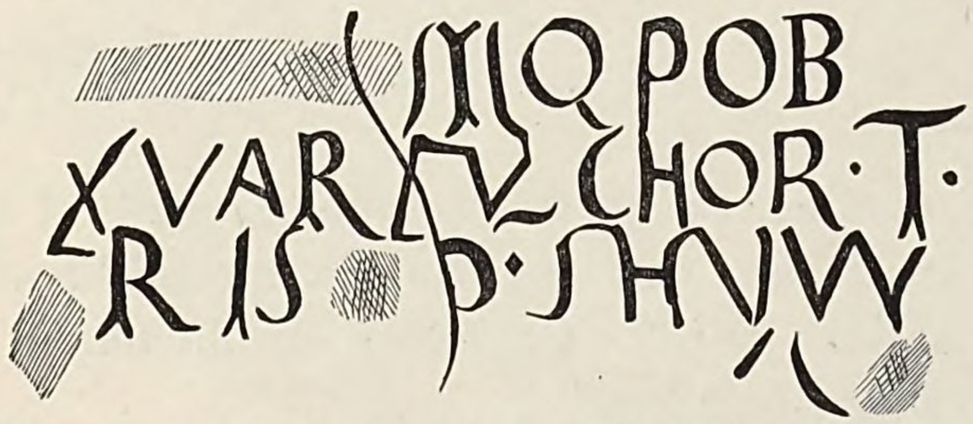
From the centurial stone found at Melandra Castle, erected by the same cohort, we find that the N at the end of the first line should be A V ligulate, thus A/, and the translation of the whole is, "The century of Masavo of the first cohort of the Frisians (built) twenty-three feet."

* Camden (edit. 1607), p. 610; Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 301; Leigh, *Nat. Hist. Lanc.*, iii., p. 314; Whitaker, *Hist. Manchester*, vol. i., p. 59; Gough's *Camden* (edit. 1806), vol. iii., p. 375.

† Camden (edit. 1607), p. 610; Gough's *Camden* (edit. 1806), vol. iii., p. 375; Gale, *Itin. Ant.* p. 49; Leigh, *Nat. Hist. Lanc.*, iii., p. 314; Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 301; Whitaker, *Hist. Manchester*, vol. i., p. 62; Hollinworth's *Mancuniensis*; McCaul, *Brit. Rom. Inscr.*, p. 118.

Camden considered these inscriptions to be sepulchral monuments of centurions, and, most strangely, he was followed in this idea by Horsley, whose acquaintance with the centurial stones of the great northern Wall should have enabled him to give the correct reading.

A third centurial stone, though the inscription was of a most barbarous character, one half being illegible, was found in 1760 "on the south side of the Medlock, near Knott Mill," on the left hand from Manchester to Stretford. With the exception of the words COHOR. I. FRIS at the end of the second and beginning of the third lines, nothing can be made of it, though the characters, which seem like repetitions of the letter v, at the close of the inscription are, I think, numerals; they are, as usual, preceded by a P.* The annexed is a copy of the inscription, from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1807. It was taken from the MSS. of Dr. Pegge.



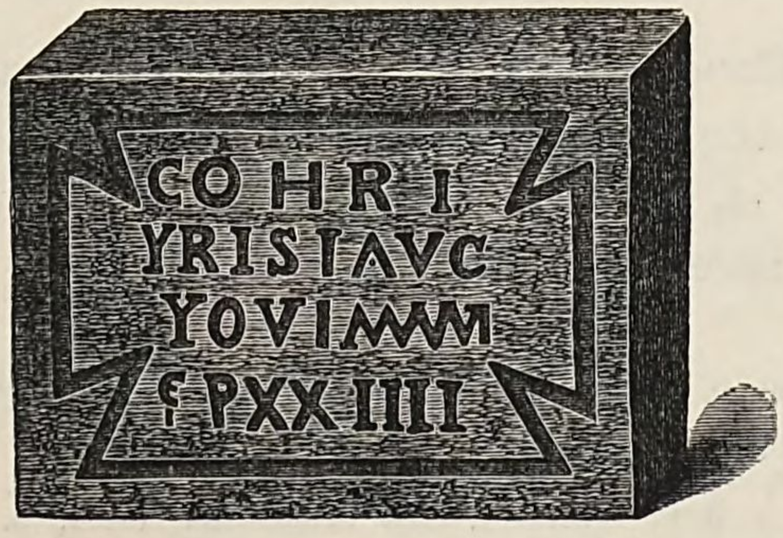
. . . . . * * QPOB

XVAR * * CHOR. I.

. RIS P. * * * * *

There are some letters missing at the commencement of the inscription, and the letter F at the commencement of the third line. This stone had been removed from the walls to the place where it was found. It appears to have soon been lost again. Gough says that it was hollowed as a basin under the letters.

The fourth centurial stone, which measured 15 inches by 11, was found in 1795 or 1796. It was first engraved and described in vol. v. of the *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*, pl. vii., pp. 527 and 534. A copy of this engraving is annexed (the original now being lost).



COHR. I.	*Cohortis I.*
FRISIAVO	*Frisiavo(num)*
> QVINTIANI	*Centuria Quintiani*
∈ P. XXIIII.	* *Pedes xxiiii.*

* The engraving of the inscription in Gough's *Camden* (edit. 1789), vol. iii., pl. vii., fig. 15, which is slightly different, though not materially, from that in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, shows the P more plainly.

The reading and expansion I have given are based upon the engraving of the stone, which is, no doubt, incorrect. It will be seen that what is given in the third line as Y in the engraving, I recognise as the centurial mark; the O is, I think, Q; and the confused ligulate mass of letters after the I, I opine, are NTIANI. The character before P, at the commencement of the fourth line, I think marks the direction of the *limes*. In this I follow Dr. McCaul,* who so regards a similar character which occurs on a centurial stone found at Chester. The translation would of course be, "The century of Quintianus, of the first cohort of the Frisians, (built) twenty-four feet." In vol. lxviii. of the *Chetham Society's Proceedings*, p. 46, there is given a copy of the inscription taken from Mr. Barritt's original drawing, on which the engraving was based, which differs somewhat from the latter, the lettering being—

COHR. I.
FRISIAVO
VOVINWV
S. P. XXIIII.

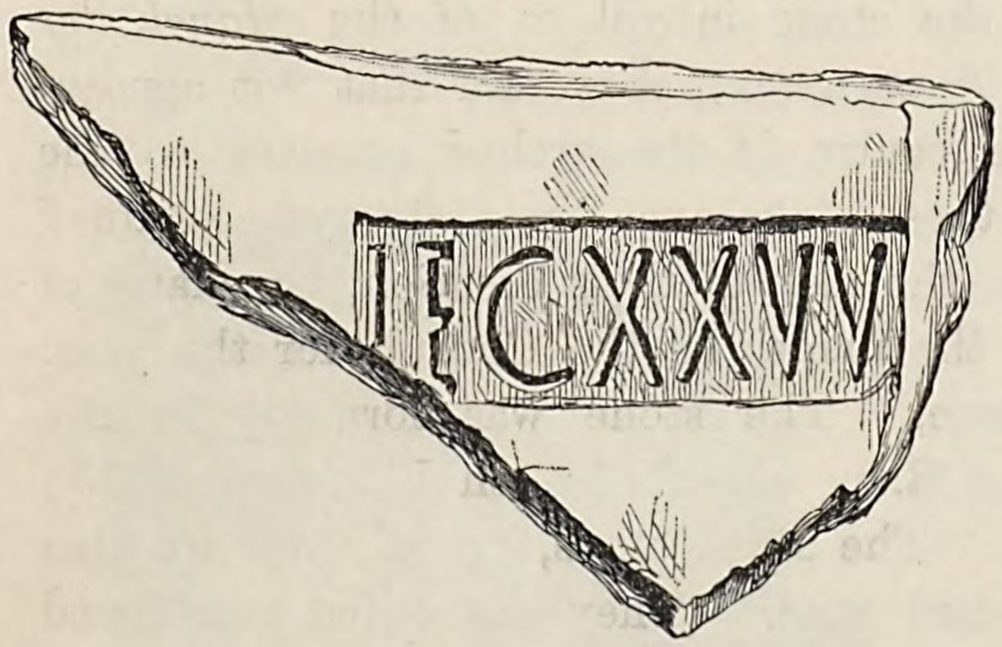
This still further confirms the correctness of *Quintiani*, in the third line.

From a note by Dr. Edward Holme, on the same page, we learn that the stone "was found on removing the rubbish that obstructed the Praetorian gateway," also that Barritt cut a *fac simile* of the inscription upon an amphora handle then in his possession, with the additional note, "15 by 11, 1796," referring to its dimensions, &c. This handle is now in the Peel Park Museum, Salford, and was by some thought to bear a genuine inscription. Dr. Hübner, of Berlin, however, upon seeing it, and not knowing of the discovery of the original stone, concluded that no such genuine inscription ever existed, though he has now withdrawn the statement that it was a forgery. In the account given of the stone in vol. v. of the *Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society's Transactions*, it is said that "it appears likely the stone was fixed over the centre of the arched gateway to the castle." This is *most unlikely*, as these slabs over the archways contained the name of the Emperor reigning at the date of their erection, the name of the Imperial Legate, and frequently the names of the Consuls for the year. It is simply a centurial walling-stone. The stone was formerly in the possession of Charles White, M.D., F.R.S., who died 20th February, 1813; since then it has been lost sight of. The Frisiavones, or (as they are also styled) Frisii, were a very distinguished race. They are twice mentioned by Pliny as inhabitants of Belgic Gaul, and dwelling in an island at the

* *Brit. Rom. Inscr.*, p. 119.

mouth of the Rhine, between the Maese and the Zuyder Zee. Tacitus notices them (*Annals*, B. 1) in describing a campaign of Germanicus in A.D. 15, and also tells us that in A.D. 28 they revolted against the Romans, who had laid an oppressive tax upon them, hanged the tax gatherers, and put the Governor to flight. They then twice defeated the Roman armies sent against them, the Romans losing 1,300 men, and from that time were no longer subject to Rome, except nominally, for they had their own kings, who were acknowledged as legates by the Roman Emperors. Some of them seem from their bravery and fidelity to have been enrolled in the body guard (*equites singulares*) of Nero, from inscriptions found at Rome. In A.D. 79, the Frisians joined with the *Batavii* and *Caninefates* in the revolt against the Romans in Lower Germany, under Civilis, and on its suppression by Petilius Cerealis, appear to have concluded some satisfactory treaty of alliance with the Romans, of which the furnishing of a contingent to the armies of Rome, and possibly a slight tribute, formed the chief provisions, for we do not hear of their being punished for their share in the revolt. The modern "Friesland," and the country round the north and west of the Zuyder Zee, including the modern towns of Leyden and Utrecht were embraced in their territories. Within the last forty years a treatise has been written, endeavouring to shew that the language and population of South Lancashire have been largely influenced by the presence of this cohort.*

The tile of the Twentieth Legion, before spoken of, was found about 1829. In 1872, the Hon. Algernon Egerton informed me that it was preserved at Worsley Old Hall, with other remains. The collection has now been removed to the New Hall; but on my visit, in 1881, the tile could not be found. The annexed engraving is copied from that of Baines,† which seems very correct.



Leg(io) xx. V(aleria) V(ictrix.)

"The Twentieth Legion, Valiant and Victorious."

* "A Memoir on the Roman Garrison at *Mancunium*, and its probable influence on the population and language of South Lancashire," by James Black, M.D., F.R.S. (Manchester: Simms and Dinham, 1849.)

† *Hist. of Lancashire* (1836), vol. ii., p. 158, fig. viii.

Though somewhat anticipating in giving here an account of this tile, I pass on to notice two others, found in the same series of excavations. One, which was fragmentary, was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, December 6, 1832, by Mr. Howarth, of Manchester,* and bore this inscription entire :—

C. $\overline{\text{III}}$. BR

C(ohortis) III. Br(acarum).

A second tile, which was complete, was found in 1840, bearing the same inscription. It came also into Mr. Howarth's possession.† From the absence of AVG after the letters BR, I concluded in my paper on "Roman Manchester,"‡ that the third cohort of the *Breuci* was the maker of these tiles, although at Slack *(Cambodunum)* the fourth cohort of the same people use the abreviation BRE. But as in the recently-discovered *tabula* of the reign of Antoninus Pius (found at *Cilurnum*, on the Roman wall), the name of the third cohort of the *Bracarae* occurs as COH. III. BRAC. simply, I now lean to the opinion that this is the cohort named on the Manchester tiles, for we know that it was in our island; but as to the third cohort of the *Breuci* (unless these tiles were made by it), we have no evidence of its having been in Britain. The full title of the Bracarian cohort was, *Cohors III. Bracarum Augustanorum*, and it is so named in the Malpas *tabula* (A.D. 103) and the Riveling *tabula* (A.D. 124). Between these dates it seems to have been for a short time on the Continent, for it is named in a *tabula* of Trajan, found at Weissenburg, dated June, A.D. 108, as being then in Raetia.§ The *Bracarae* were a people of Portugal, the modern Braga representing their capital *(Bracara Augusta)*. It is not known what has become of these tiles.‖

Of the buildings within the *castrum*, we have had no account from the pen of any of the writers on Roman Manchester, with the exception that Mr. Baines and the late Mr. Procter¶ notice the sole remnant of the walls of an interior building, still existing. This I have marked on the plan, "Wall existing 1882." It is a large mass of grouting, the core of a wall, from which the facing stones have been removed. The bulk of the fragments of unhewn stone, of which it is composed, I found to be red

* *Gent. Mag.* Dec. 1832, p. 561. (This is not recorded in the *Archæologia.*) † *Ibid.*, Oct. 1840, p. 415.

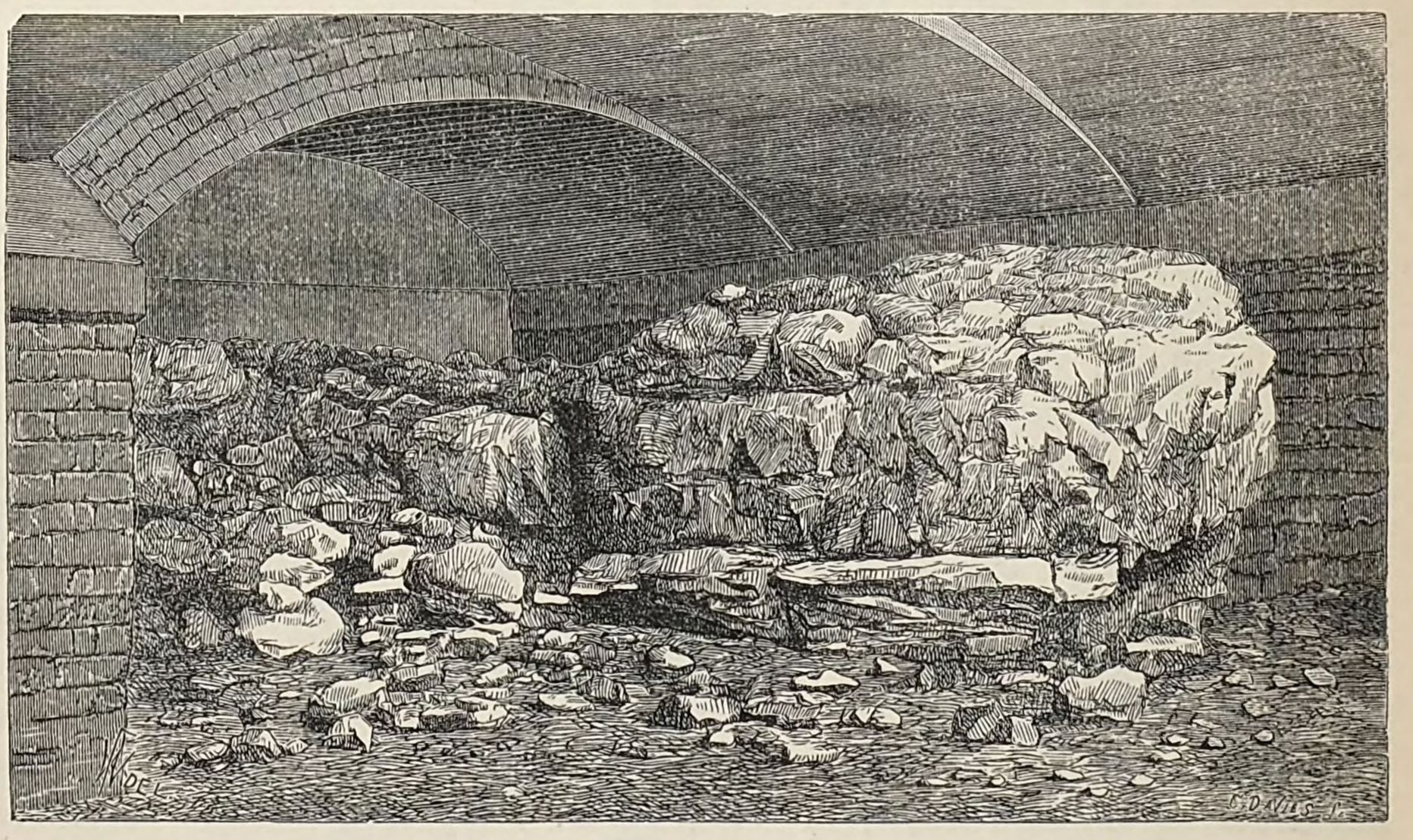
‡ *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. xxxi., p. 28. § *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. iii., p. 866.

‖ Mr. Howarth's name, I find, appears regularly in the *Manchester Directory* until 1851. After that year it ceases. He had (so we gather from his printed letters) a collection of remains found at Manchester, which is now lost to the antiquarian world. ¶ *Memorials of Manchester Streets*, p. 100.

sandstone. The mortar, though very hard, does not appear to contain pounded tile. When analysed in 1828, by the celebrated Dr. Dalton, it was found,

on being coarsely pulverised and sifted, to form itself into three parts: first, a fine powder, second, a coarser powder, and third, round small pieces, like shot, of various sizes. The finer powder was found to contain from 15 to 20 per cent. of carbonate of lime, with some clay and iron, and about 80 per cent. of sand. The other two parts contained stony particles and lumps less soluble in acids, and yielding an inferior proportion of lime.*

The fragment is, in its present state, about 20 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 26 inches in height. The late Lord Francis Egerton (created in 1846 Earl of Ellesmere) took special pains in 1832 (and subsequently) to have this fragment protected during the excavations for modern buildings. He had its preservation secured by a legal document; and it now exists, covered with a wooden shed, at the foot of one of the large piers of the Altrincham railway viaduct. The engraving of it, which appeared in Mr. Procter's work, I am now able, through the courtesy of Messrs. Abel Heywood, Sons and Co. (whose property it is), to reproduce.



Although, owing to the rocky nature of the site, no architectural fragments, such as portions of columns, pediments, friezes, &c., have been preserved, I

* Baines' *History of Manchester*, vol. ii., p. 152.

think it evident that the station has had some buildings of considerable size and grandeur. Amongst the discoveries, during excavations in 1832, was the fragment of a large and important inscription, the letters, as will be seen by the engraving, being finely cut, and they contained, when found, metallic particles, as if they had been the receptacles for letters cut in bronze, which had fallen out and decayed. This was a frequent practice amongst the Romans.



IINVI
ETAC

As in the second line I think we appear to have part of the words (G)ETA C(AESAR) this inscription would be dedicated to the Emperor Septimius Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta. The date would range between A.D. 198, when Geta became Cæsar, and A.D. 209, when that appellation was changed for the title of Augustus. In the first line we have either part of the word *Invictus*, as applied to Caracalla, or *Invicti*, as applied to Caracalla and Severus conjointly. It may have been *Invictissimi*, as Dr. Hübner concludes that this title is applied to these emperors on an inscribed altar found at Chester.* This fragment has, I opine, been part of the inscription on the front of a temple, either recording its building or restoration.† It was removed to Worsley Old Hall, but in 1872 the Hon. Algernon Egerton informed me that neither he nor Lord Ellesmere could find it. It is doubtless lost. This engraving is also copied from Baines.‡

There is a fragment of an inscription now preserved in the British Museum, but which was formerly in the Museum of the Natural History Society of Manchester, to whom it came on the death of Dr. Edward Holme, of that city. From the fact that Dr. Holme was the owner of the stone, Dr. Hübner§ has concluded that it was found at Manchester; but had this been so, Dr. Holme would have been the first to announce its discovery. His collection, however, included several inscribed altars and stones, known to have come from Cumberland and Westmoreland, and as he was intimate with the late Mr. Beck, of Ambleside, who exhibited in 1845

* *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. vii., No. 167.

† See a similar slab found at Caerleon (Lee's *Isca Silurum*, p. 3, and pl. i., fig. 3; also *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. vii., No. 106).

‡ Vol. ii., fig. 29, in plates of *Manchester Antiquities.*

§ *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. vii., pp. 306—7, No. 1341.

an inscribed stone, found by himself at the Roman station at that place,* now missing, I am inclined to believe that the stone in the British Museum is identical with that from Ambleside, as the material and thickness of the stone seem to agree. The stone is inscribed,—

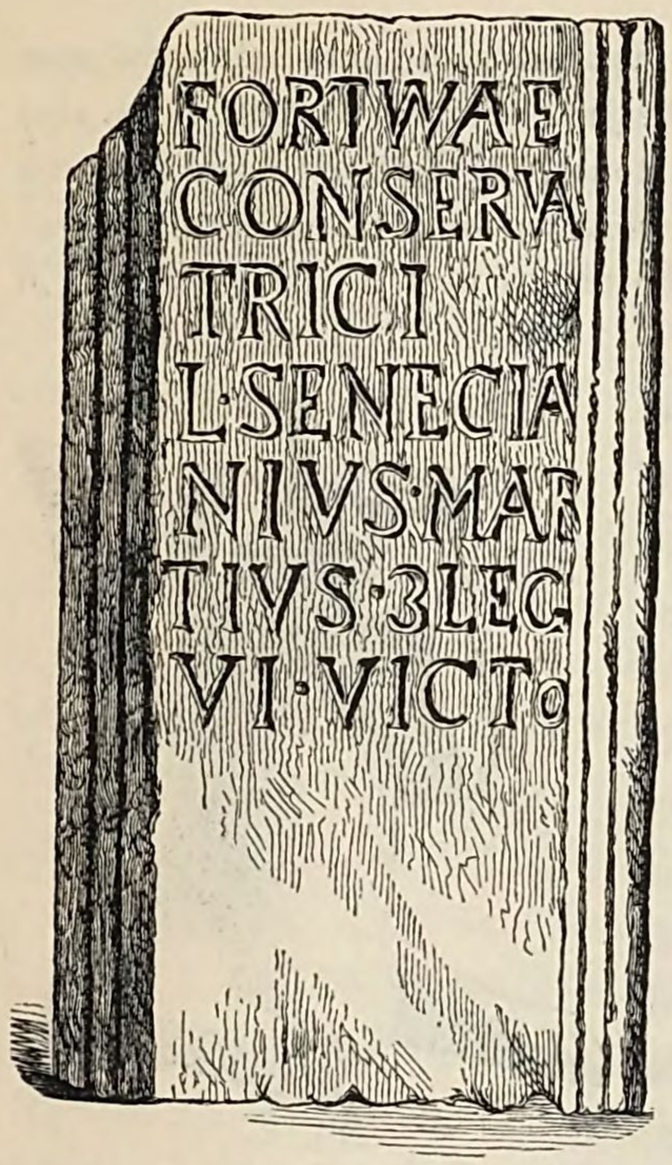
. . . . . DIVI. SEP. SEVERI. AN . . .
. . . . MAX. FILIO. DIVI. ANT . . .
. . . . POTI. DIVI. ANTON. . . . . .
. . . . ABNEP. DIVI. TR. . . . . .

and is entirely occupied with the titles and descent of Caracalla.

In 1612 there was found, under the roots of an oak tree, at the foot of the bank, close to the river side, part of an inscribed altar. As it is without either capital or base, having no focus, it would seem to have been used for some other purpose, possibly a building stone, either in the Roman period (after the introduction of Christianity), or in the middle ages. Its dimensions when found were $27\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, $15\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth, and nearly 11 inches in thickness. According to Whitaker, it had the *praefericulum* carved on the left side, and a *patera* on the right. Hollinworth in his *Mancuniensis* was the first to mention it, and Horsley, Stukeley, and Whitaker all state that it was preserved in the garden at Hulme Hall, which would account for its existence until *circa* 1770. Since then nothing certain has been known as to it; but upon the copy of it preserved in the Chetham Library, in Manchester, there is a memorandum in pencil to the effect that "it was afterwards in the Leverian Museum." This museum, formed by Sir Ashton Lever, Kt., at his residence, Alkrington Hall, about five miles from Manchester, was, by special Act of Parliament, disposed of by lottery in 1785; the winner being a Mr. Parkinson, who removed it to London, where it was for some years exhibited near Blackfriars Bridge. It contained a considerable number of Lancashire antiquities, including several of Roman origin, but they have never been heard of since the collection was sold by auction and dispersed, in 1806. Fortunately, Horsley† had preserved a drawing of the inscribed face of the altar, which shews the lettering within a moulding. A copy of his engraving is given on the following page.

* *Archæological Journal*, vol. ii., p. 395.

† *Brit. Rom. Lancashire*, No. 1.



FORTVNAE	*Fortunae*
CONSERVA	*Conservatrici*
TRICI	
L. SENECIA	*L(ucius) Senecianius*
NIVS. MAR	*Martius, Centurio*
TIVS'. 3 LEG	*Leg(ionis) Sextae*
VI. VICT.	*Vict(ricis).*

"To Fortune the preserver, Lucius Senecianius Martius, a Centurion of the Sixth Legion (surnamed) the Victorious."*

Amongst other articles discovered within the *castrum* were a large ring, of gold,† and a sword, of iron, 5 feet 5¼ inches in length, the handle 18¼ inches, the blade 47 inches, the former 4¼ inches in circumference, "lined all round with some soft pieces of wood, and covered over with leather . . terminated by a large ball of iron, about a pound in weight, at one extremity, and crossed by an iron guard, twenty inches and a quarter in length, at the other." It was 7℔. 11 oz. in weight, double edged, two inches in breadth at the guard, and tapering to a sharp point. Whitaker assumes it to be Roman, but this is doubtful. It also went to the Leverian Museum. ‡

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1789, p. 1185, Mr. G. Perry, in a letter dated Manchester, December 17th, sends an account of some antiquities discovered, with drawings of two of them (pl. ii., figs. 4 and 5). The engravings of these, though apparently rudely executed, I have here reproduced, as the originals are not now known to be in existence. Mr. Perry says :—

Pl. ii. fig. 4 is brass. I take it to have been the head of a sword, hollow in the inside, the workmanship and execution pretty tolerable; the nails had probably been to fasten it to something, and were of copper. Perhaps it may be difficult to say what fig. 5 was. Like the other, it is of brass, but with more the appearance of copper in its colour. They were found six feet below the ground, between two large stones, placed horizontally, with several large flat-bottomed brass dishes

* See also *Marmora Oxoniensia*, appendix p. 56; *Philosophical Transactions*, xiv., p. 457; Gale, *Antonini Itinerarium*, p. 48; Stukeley, *Itin. Curiosum*, p. 55; Leigh, *Nat. Hist. Lancashire*, iii., p. 14; Whitaker, *Hist. of Manchester*, vol. i, pp. 75—6; Gough's *Camden*, edit. 1806, vol. iii., p. 385; Collinson's *Somersetshire*, vol. i., p. 12; Baines, *Hist. of Lancashire*, vol. ii., p. 154 (edit. 1836), and several Continental works.

† Stukeley, *Itin. Curios.* p. 55.

‡ Whitaker, vol. i., p. 78.

jammed into one another, but were most of them mere rust. An urn was also found here some time ago, plain, without any inscription, containing a silver coin of Trajan. Several Roman ovens also now lie open, cut in the rock; and near them were found mill stones, the bottoms made of burnt clay, pateræ, black, white, and red. The following coins were separate, found at different places: Tiberius, in copper; Augustus, Antoninus Pius, in silver. The urn is now in the possession of Mr. Barrett, of this town, an ingenious antiquary.



No. 1.

Whether this discovery took place *within* the area of the *castrum* is not said, but the urn named was probably from an extramural cemetery. No. 2 partakes somewhat of the nature of a Pegasus or Sphinx.



No. 2.

Amongst the offensive weapons of the Romans there was one used in fortresses, called the *ballista*. It was a huge engine, constructed of wood, &c., and discharged large round stones, and sometimes darts, into the ranks of an attacking enemy. A considerable heap of these stones was found, Whitaker tells us, near the western angle of the fortress, on the bank of the river, overgrown with turf. They appeared to have been taken from the bed of the river. It is curious, however, that they should have been placed *outside* the fortress.

In 1808, some labourers, while digging, brought to light four large pewter dishes, circular in shape. They were found twelve feet from the surface, in clay and sand, when cutting the tunnel of the Rochdale canal, near its junction with the Duke of Bridgewater's canal (Baines, vol. ii., p. 156.) One was 17¾ inches in diameter, and had an ornamented centre. It is engraved by Mr. Lysons in his *Reliquiae Britannico Romanae* (vol. 2, pl. 5). He tells us that this, with two others, were presented to him

by Mr. Ford, bookseller, of Manchester, and by him deposited in the British Museum. A small bit having been taken from one of them, a good deal mutilated, was analysed by Dr. Wollaston, and found to consist of nearly three parts of tin to one of lead. Neither of the other two dishes had any ornament; one of them was 14⅞ inches, the other 20 inches in diameter.

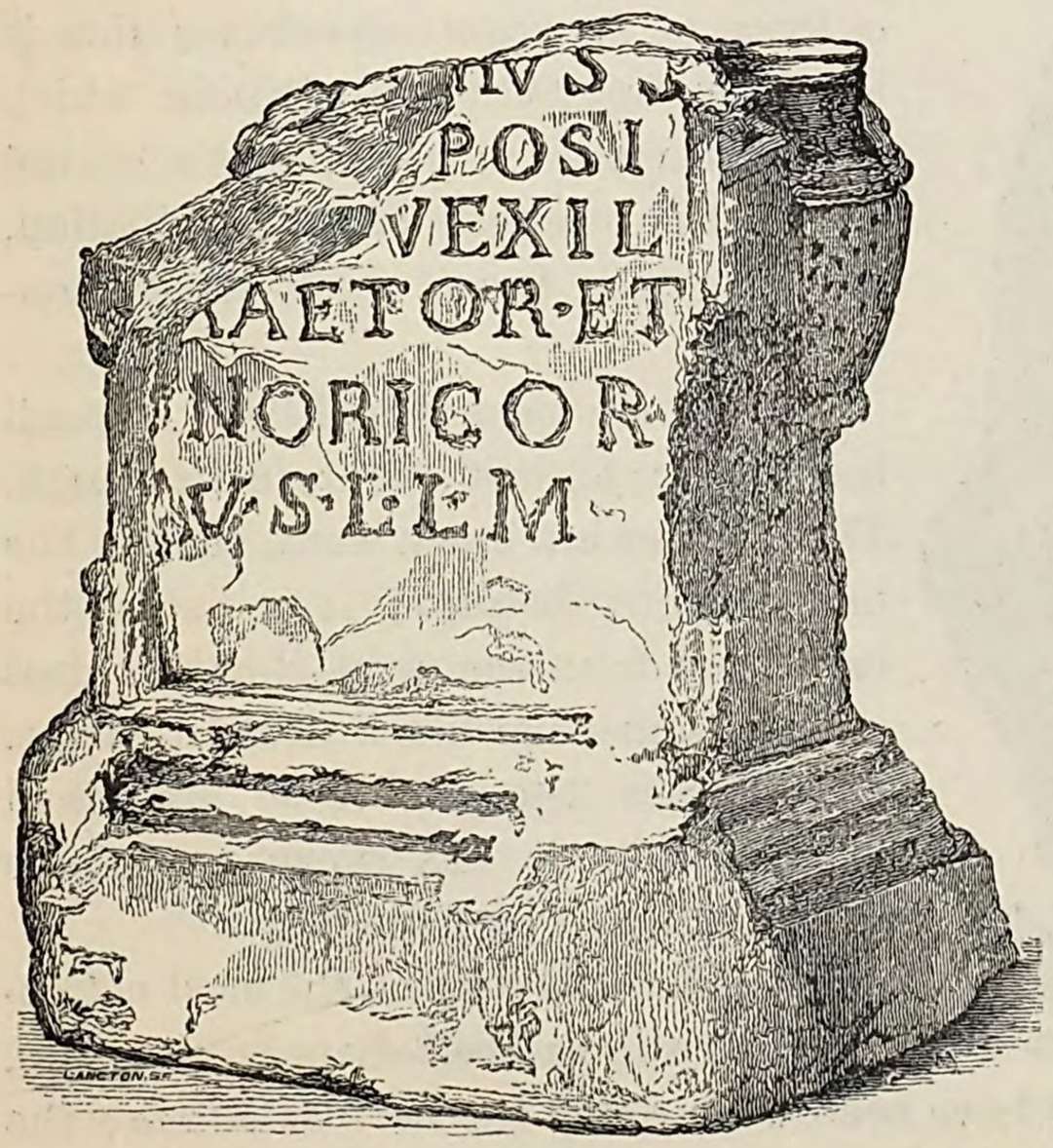
They are still in the British Museum, and much resemble in appearance a modern soup plate.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1830, there is an account of an ancient well, found in Castlefield. It is there thought to be British, but is evidently one of a class which have previously been discovered at Roman

stations. It was four yards below the level of the field near the canal, was square in form, had four upright posts at the angles, closed in with other logs, placed one upon another, and floored in the same manner. The logs were rudely hewn, and not sawn, 5 or 6 inches in diameter. The foundations of the Roman wall were found a few yards to the west. A quantity of stones, called "bowlers," locally, were found at the bottom of the well. Were these also for *ballistae ?*

Between the years 1828-36, a portion of the Castlefield was absorbed for building purposes, and in the necessary excavations for foundations, &c., a large number of antiquities were found, and afterwards deposited at Worsley Old Hall. They have since been removed to the Earl of Ellesmere's seat, Worsley New Hall. Mr. Baines, in the first edition of his *History of Lancashire*, engraves and describes many of them. The most important are the following.

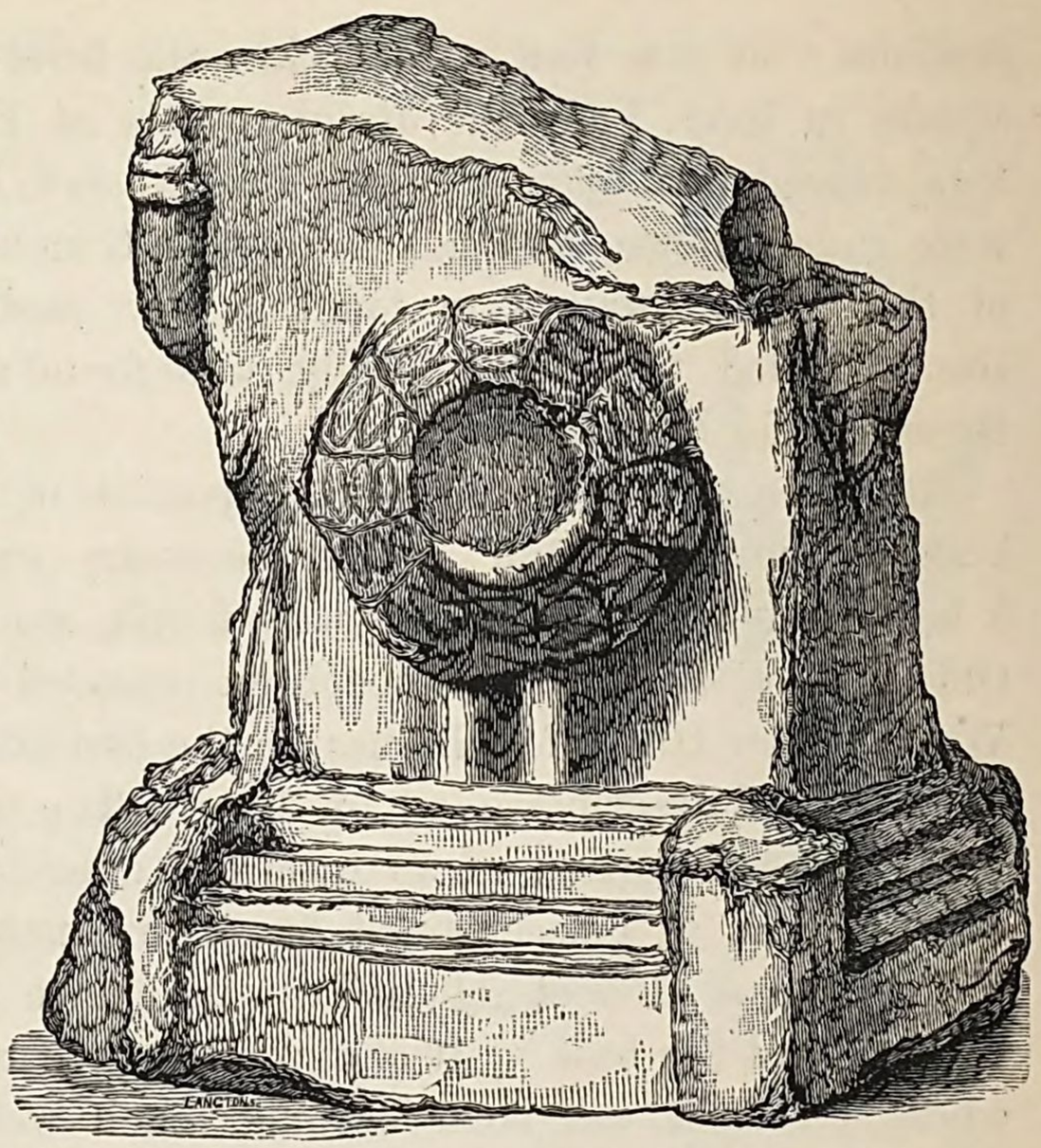
The lower portion of an inscribed altar of red sandstone, the dimensions of which are, as I ascertained by measurement in 1881, height 2 feet 5 inches, width at base 1 foot 11 inches, in centre 1 foot 4 inches, and thickness 15 inches at the base. It is at present preserved in the grounds of the Hall, where I fear it will soon become much weathered. I found Mr. Baines' engraving of it very accurate—so much so, that, with slight variations, I have here had it reproduced.

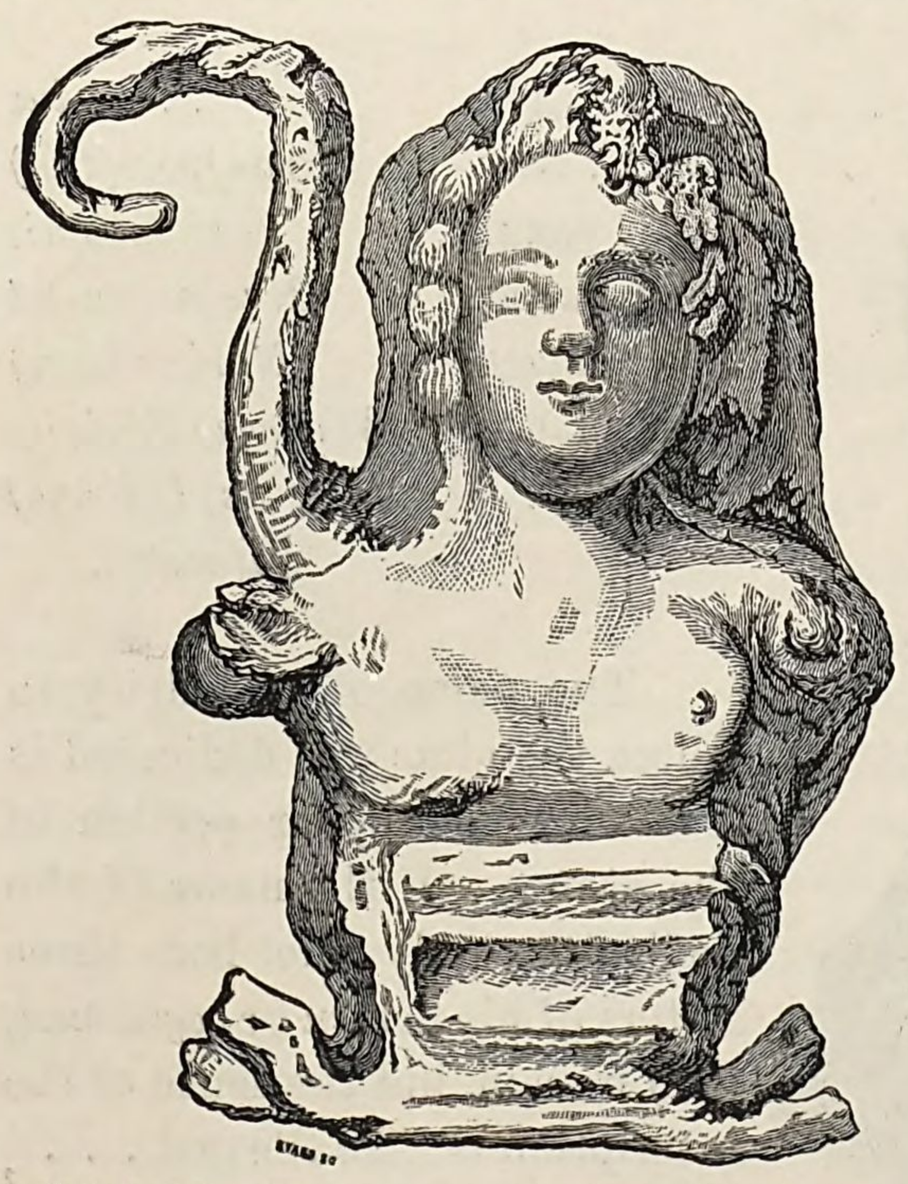


. . . . . IVS.	. . . . *ius*
. . . . POSI.	*(Prae)posi(tus)*
. . . VEXIL.	*Vexillationis*
(R)AETOR . ET.	*Raetor(um)et*
NORICOR.	*Noricor(um)*
V.S.L.L.M.	*V(otum) S(olvit) L(aetus) L(ibens) M(erito).*

The name of the deity to whom the altar was dedicated is lost with the upper portion of the stone. Of the name of the dedicator, only the last three letters of his *nomen* or *cognomen*, (IVS) remain, but the sense of the inscription is "To the god . . . , ... Praepositus of the

Vexillation of Raetii and Norici, performs his vow cheerfully and willingly to a deserving object." On the back the altar is decorated with what appears to have been a wreath, which is much worn. It is certainly not a *patera*, as has been previously stated. The annexed woodcut will give the best idea of this device. From this altar we learn that at one time the garrison of *Mancunium* consisted of a vexillation of *Rhaetii* and *Norici*. The former were Swiss, and the latter Tyrolese. This vexillation was probably stationed at *Aesica*, on the Roman wall, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius—a shattered stone having been found there, naming the *Rhaetii*. Though we find traces of *citizens* of *Noricum* elsewhere, this is the only inscription in Britain which names them *as a force*. We cannot gather the strength of the vexillation, but it was a force which varied considerably.

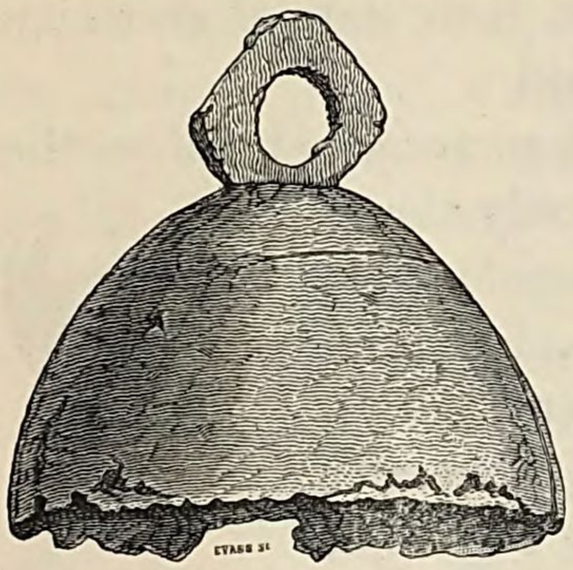


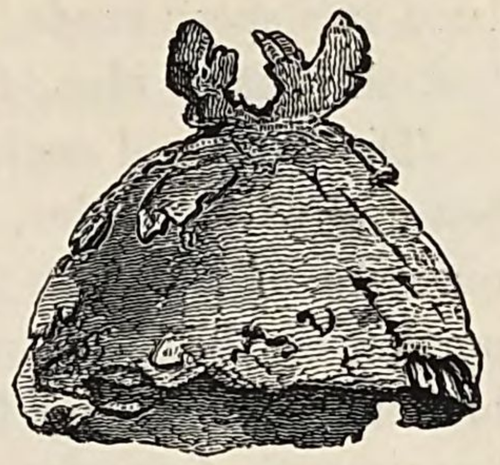


Another object found was a small leaden female bust, four inches high. The features are much worn, though the hair remains distinct; it is flat at the back, and from the right shoulder rises a hook, somewhat like a sickle in shape. Mr. Baines thought it a household divinity, but it has every appearance of being a steelyard weight.

Of articles in bronze, the most noticeable are two small bell-shaped ornaments, which Mr. Baines conjectured to have been worn round the neck as *bullae;* the

largest is two inches in diameter, and the same measurement in extreme height. The other is somewhat smaller. As no traces of a tongue appear to be visible in either, it seems almost impossible that they could have been used as bells, although such articles have been found on Roman sites in Britain.

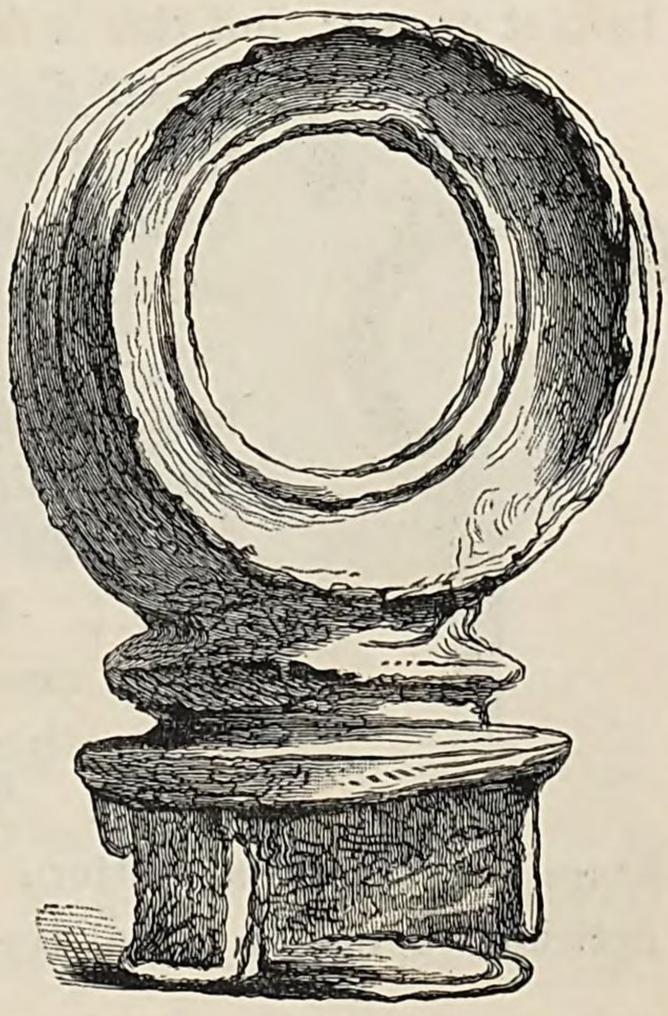




A bell of almost the exact size and shape of the largest of these was found at Silchester, and is engraved in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. viii., p. 245. It is not said whether any trace of the hook of the tongue appeared. A bell of a somewhat different shape to these, in which the hook for a tongue remained, is engraved in Lee's *Isca Silurum* (pl. 34, fig. 3).

There were also found at this time a small bronze ladle, 1½ inches long, with a portion of the bowl of another. The smallness of the size is remarkable. A small stand about 2 inches high, exactly resembling a fragment of candle in a candlestick, and a thin, flat piece of bronze, representing a horse, about 1½ inches long, with a hole through it, by which it had been nailed (probably on to wood), occurred. The last was very likely a child's toy, as other examples have been found elsewhere.

Another article was a curious bronze stand, 3½ inches high, with a circular rim, as if intended to hold some round object, like a medal, much resembling a modern watchstand. It is here engraved.





Of bronze pins (so frequently found in Roman stations) but one example occurred, remarkably well preserved; it had a square head, with indentations for stones, and has probably been used for a lady's hair. No bone pins were found.

Only one *stylus* was recovered. It is of a peculiar form, as the annexed cut will shew, the head being formed like the letter T. The material is iron, 7½ inches in length, and with a spiral twist. The head of an iron axe, much corroded, was found in March, 1829. In length

it was 10 inches, and its thickness at the head 2½ inches. What appear to have been two spear heads, of iron, were also recovered, but their state of corrosion is such that no idea of their original shape can be formed.

The head and neck of an animal, in bronze (perhaps an antelope), flat on the top and at the sides, requires notice. The head is only three-quarters of an inch in length. Most probably a considerable portion of the neck, which I think has been hollow, has been broken off. A very fine example of a similar ornament, entire, has recently been found at Birdlip, and is now in the Gloucester Museum; and another was found in a Roman villa at Boxmoor, Herts. I am inclined to consider the one at Manchester as the termination of a handle, perhaps that of a knife.



Two other bronze articles were a small cross and a curious hinge.



The former, which only measures an inch each way, is slightly ornamented, and of the Greek form. Can we here have a trace of Christianity amongst the Roman population? It is to be feared not. A somewhat similar ornament has been found at *Cilurnum*, on the Roman Wall, and is now preserved in the museum of John Clayton, Esq., of Chesters. The hinge, which is 1½ inches long, has been thought to belong to a helmet or spur, but this is doubtful.





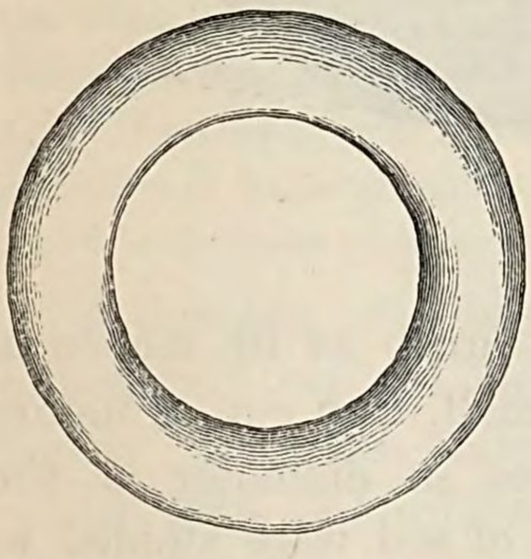
Of *fibulae* (or brooches) two examples were found. The first, of bronze, is of a well-known type, formerly supposed, from the cruciform shape, to be Saxon; but, from examples occurring frequently with Roman remains, their true origin has been confirmed. Two fine examples, in bronze, have been found at Richborough and Kenchester;* a third, somewhat similar, at Lakenheath (Norfolk)†; and one, in gold, now in the British Museum, was found at Odiham, in Hampshire.‡ In the Manchester example the pin is wanting (as is the case with most of the others), and it is covered with a smooth coat of *Ærugo*. In length it slightly exceeds two inches. The other *fibula*, which is circular in form, and bears a geometrical pattern of interlaced circles, has originally been set with fictitious gems of paste, traces of which still remain. It is composed of a

* *Antiquities of Richborough*, &c., pp. 81-83. † *Archæological Journal*, vol. vi., p. 404. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 46.

mixed metal. For my own part I am doubtful whether it is of Roman origin, but as several antiquaries assert it to be of the Roman period, I have here engraved it. Mr. Baines calls it "a circular metallic brooch, inlaid with seven [?] stones, as a kind of mosaic work." It is nearly an inch in diameter.



A large number of small, flattened metallic rings were found, much resembling quoits, of which Mr. Baines says, they were "used in forming the petticoat-like armour attached to the back and breast plates, and which covered the thighs; the plates overlaid each other, like scales." That these rings formed any part of a *lorica* is a mere surmise. An engraving of one of them is annexed. A number of small broken pieces of metal, like portions of buckles, ornaments, &c., were also found. The amount of pottery found was very small. Fragments of two "Samian" bowls, three vessels of "Upchurch" ware, a small cup of common red pottery, and fragments of a few vessels of common ware, comprised the entire number. The portions of "Samian" are represented in the annexed engravings. No. 1, which is in four pieces, joined together, bears a representation of a deer hunt. When entire, the bowl would be about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.





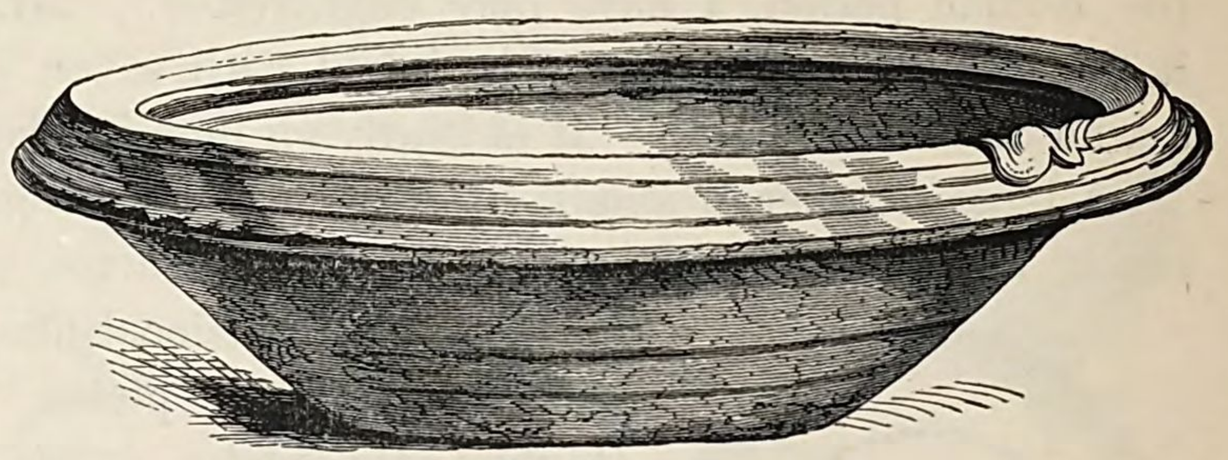
No. 1.



No. 2.

This was found in 1829. No. 2, found June 10, 1829, bears upon it representations of human figures, with other ornamental details. In its complete state it would be 7 inches in diameter, and 4 inches in height. It is in three fragments, which are now joined together. These two vessels are of the usual brilliant red colour of "Samian" ware.

Of the dark pottery, called "Upchurch" ware, from its having been made at the large Roman potteries in the Upchurch marshes, on the banks of the Medway, in Kent, the two principal specimens are those here engraved. No. 3 is a broad-rimmed bowl, found July 8, 1828, which has been glazed, and is without ornament. It would contain about three quarts, and stands about 4 inches high; being 7 inches in diameter.

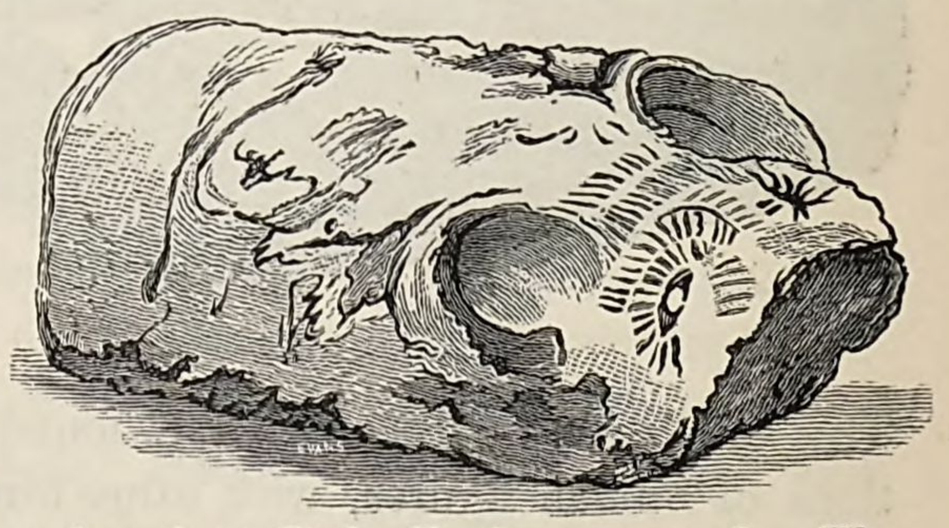


No. 3.

No. 4 is 6 inches high, and in the middle is as much as $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. The other vessel of this ware found was a small, thin cup, 2 inches high, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter at the middle. The vessel of red ware alluded to above was a similar cup, 3 inches high, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. None of the vessels or fragments bore a potter's name. Another remarkable object was a piece of solid pottery, 5 inches long, and 2 inches thick, somewhat cylindrical; at one end bearing the face of an animal with a mane, the nose and mouth broken off. Mr. Baines thought the face that of a lion. From the engraving the reader will be able to form an opinion as to this. Several beads occurred of different sizes, formed of paste or earth, fluted, and of a blue colour. They have been found with Roman remains at many places in the kingdom, though some authors have supposed them to be British. The last that came under my notice I have described in my paper on the discoveries at Usk *(Burrium)*.* In Gibson's *Camden*,† one found at Dolgelly is engraved. The coins found will be hereafter described.



No. 4.



* *Archæological Journal*, vol. 35, p. 32.

† (Edit. 1722), p. 834, fig. *b*.

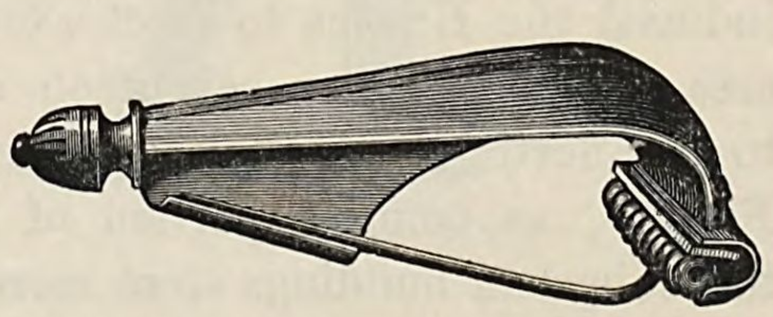
Some further building operations were carried on in the Castle Field in 1840. Mr. Howarth, who watched them, says:* "All traces of ancient *Mancunium* will shortly disappear, from the excavations and alterations that are daily taking place." In addition to the tile stamped C $\overline{\text{III}}$ BR, before mentioned, the discoveries consisted of

numerous fragments of Samian ware, being portions of vases, urns, and very large circular bowls, the rims on which they stood measuring four and five inches in diameter. They are ornamented in bold relief, with figures of the vine, dolphins, the hound, the stag, and lions. On one was stamped the word CVPPA. [Dr. Hübner suggests that this was LVPPA, a well known potter's mark.] There was discovered at the same time a Roman brick, with fragments of others, and several tiles 12 or 14 inches square, and 1½ inch thick. . . . There was found a mill stone at the same place 15 inches in diameter, and 8 inches deep; weight 58 lbs. This was the upper stone. Another was found in the same place a short time ago. Both are in my possession.

A drawing of a broken *patera* of Samian ware accompanied Mr. Howarth's letter, but was not engraved. The *patera* had a rim, ornamented with ivy leaves. All these articles are now lost.

In 1849, the railway from Altrincham to Manchester was carried, by means of a large viaduct, over the Castle Field. In the excavations necessary for the piers of the arches, many remains were found, but almost immediately dispersed.

In the *Manchester Guardian*, February 24, 1849, there is a letter from a Mr. R. J. Richardson, to the effect that Roman pavement, pottery, &c., was then being found in Castle Field, and removed for the purpose of ballasting the railway. An editorial note states that orders had been given to preserve anything that might be found, and that some broken specimens of pottery had been rescued, including some cinerary urns. What became of the bulk of these remains is not known; it is quite possible that part of the pavement named might be tesselated. Fortunately some of the articles came into the possession of Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., and are now in the Mayer Museum, at Liverpool. Besides a few coins (to be hereafter noticed) there are a number of fragments of dark-grey Upchurch ware, and also of Samian ware, with various devices, but of the latter one only bears a potter's mark, which is IVCVN, a well-known stamp (IVCVNDVS). There are also several fragments of iron implements. The most interesting article is a fine silver fibula, here engraved. It is a handsome specimen of the well-known type of *bow fibulae*.†



* *Gentleman's Magazine*, Oct., 1840, p. 415.

† *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. xxxiii., p. 221.

Although it is scarcely possible that the excavations within the *castrum* (*circa* 1876) for the piers of the viaduct of the new railway between Manchester and Liverpool could fail to produce some discoveries of antiquities, none have been recorded.

Like other Roman stations, *Mancunium* no doubt had suburbs, containing a mixed Romano-British population. Whitaker* describes a building found in 1766, "on the slope of the bank," 16 yards by 12 (interior measurement), with walls 6 feet thick, and remaining to the height of 3 feet,—

> laid in a manner which bespoke it to be British. About half a yard below the surface of the ground was a line of large irregular blocks, some hewn from the quarry of Collyhurst, and others collected from the channel of the river. And under it were three layers of common paving stones, not compacted together with morter, but with the rude and primitive cement of clay.

He thought it could not "have been the remains of a cabin for the warriours, because it was modelled in a square form. It was therefore the groundwork *of an hovel for the cattle.*" The doorway was on the north side, taking up the whole of it, and the floor sloped to the south. To my mind it clearly appears to have been the site of some suburban building. And, he continues,—

> the same sort of foundations was discovered in 1765 and 1770, a little lower in the field, and running for thirty or forty yards together; a single layer of small paving stones bedded equally in clay, resting on the plane of the rock, and covered with rubbish to the depth of a couple of yards.

His ideas of the Britons seem peculiar, for he adds,—

> The discovery of many blocks of Collyhurst stone in the foundation shews the Britons of *Mancenion to have skirted along the site of the present town with their cars*, and to have repaired to the rocks of Collyhurst.

Had the Britons attained to the art of quarrying in this fashion they would have had little need of Roman civilisation.

The same author† states that "a small region" which encompassed the Castle Field "on every side," [?] and was called "Aldport" (a name which occurs during the middle ages, and still exists), was the site on which Agricola induced the Britons to erect a town of their own. He particularly names an area "of sixteen or seventeen acres, now converted chiefly into gardens," to the north of the station, extending up to the "new church in the Camp Field,"‡ as being a portion of it. In this he is *partially* right, for that the suburban buildings were more numerous here than outside the other sides of the *castrum* is proved by discoveries. His words as to this site are :—

* *History of Manchester*, vol. i., pp. 33-5.

† Vol. i., pp. 271-2

‡ So called from a military encampment in 1739.

Being in the immediate skirts of the town, the plough must have long and frequently ransacked the ground. . . . But the soil of the southern part is merely a body of adventitious earth, fragments of bricks, pieces of hewn stones, and remnants of urns. Huge blocks of a millstone grit, such as I have previously noticed in the *Roman foundations* of Castle Field, . . . have been recently dug up there, with their morter adhering to them. And the whole level appears to have been traversed with streets of regular pavement, in a variety of directions across it.

There can be no mistake as to these discoveries—a *Roman* civil population is plainly indicated by them.

It was in a portion of this region (Tonman Street) that there was discovered in 1839, when excavating for the foundations of the Hall of Science (lately the Free Library, and now pulled down), the handsome bronze statuette of Jupiter Stator, here represented.* "When found, one hand contained the thunder-bolts of Jove; in the other was extended a rod. These, together with the pedestal (of bronze), were unfortunately soon lost."† It would appear to have been a *lar*, or household god. It is still in the most perfect preservation, and, together with a silver coin of Trajan, found with it, is now in the possession of Mr. Leigh, the Medical Officer of Health for the city of Manchester. At the same time was found "a massive gold signet ring, having, on a bloodstone, a figure of Mercury, in intaglio." The latter was formerly in the possession of the late Mr. Charles Bradbury, of the Crescent, Salford, but where it is now preserved is not known.



Height, 5¼ inches.

To the south-west of the *castrum* were found in 1771 the remains of some suburban buildings, which are described, though in a confused manner, by Whitaker (vol. i., p. 63), who says:—

A little to the west of the south-eastern angle and directly opposite to the small bridge on the

* For the loan of this woodcut I am indebted to Messrs. Abel Heywood, Sons & Co.

† *Manchester Guardian*, April 27, 1850; *Procter's Memorials of Manchester Streets*, p. 128.

other side of the river, as the workmen were levelling the bank for a wharf and proceeding to the east, they came to a large stone, like the pedestal of a pillar, but all plane on the surface. It was about two feet nine inches across at the base, and gradually decreased upwards by four stages, as it were, of eight inches, three and a half, one and three quarters, and one and a half in length, to two feet three inches, two feet, and one foot nine. It was placed on a flooring, seven or eight inches thick, which was made with pieces of soft red rock, and bedded in clay. And it was nearly twenty-five yards distant from the present edge of the water.

Eight feet to the east of this stone, and two feet below the surface, were found the remains of a building 20 feet by 10, and 2 feet 3 inches thick. It had a floor of mortar, containing pounded brick, 9 inches thick, resting upon marl. Nine feet eastward was another building, 30 feet by 10, with walls 4 feet thick. Its floor, similar to the other, lay two or three feet deeper, "upon loose earth, and was covered with flags." The northern wall (which, like that of the other building, was parallel with the river) was formed of dressed stones, and remained to the height of three feet. At its termination it formed an angle, and pointed to the river. (This is evidence of another room having existed between it and the river.) Below the pavement, in the loose earth, were found "as the pillars of it," blocks of millstone grit, and square tile tubes, 16 inches long by 5 in diameter, and filled with mortar. Of the blocks, Whitaker says, "they were such as we have noticed before in *the British foundation* at another end of the field, and like them, I suppose, *brought down by the floods of the Medlock*." The blocks were evidently hypocaust pillars, and the tubes were flue tiles used for the same purpose. "Three of these were found together, *standing erect*, and two of them so formed with projections as to make a third by their union." What follows in Whitaker's account is so peculiar that it is best to give it in his own words. It would seem to indicate that one hypocaust was built upon another. He says :—

> And these and the earth all rested upon a second flooring, another cake of the same cement, near two feet in thickness, and lying upon a second bed of rubbish, about three in depth. In the body of this earth, which was covered with the second flooring, *all unbroken and entire*, were discovered three or four regular pillars of flag and tile. The first was placed about six feet to the south of the northerly wall, and the second about seventeen inches to the south of that. Six feet eastward was another; and about seventeen inches north of this were some remains of a fourth. They were composed of a square flag, then two layers of tile, each tile being about two inches thick, and eight square, and afterwards of flag and tile in four layers, alternately, all laid in morter and pounded brick. And they rose from twenty-two to thirty-two inches in height, closely surrounded on every side with the loose earth; and lay, as it lay upon a third flooring, made of pure and unmixed morter three inches in thickness, and having a layer of red sand below on the natural ground. About a yard to the east of the more easterly building was discovered a third, but all a mere mass of

confusion. And in the broken ruins of it were dug up a couple of Roman coins, and three round tubes of tile. These were found in the ground, with their morter adhering to the outside of them, and each about sixteen inches in length. They had plainly been formed in molds, were hooped, as it were, with circles on the outside, and narrowed from a diameter about four inches at one end to two at the other. And by this means they were calculated to be, as they were found, each inserted into each, and forming one long pipe.

The pipe described may have been a small drain. In one of the buildings was found an iron knife, in a stag's-horn handle; in another was found an iron chisel; in the most westerly, the beam of a balance of brass, with a hook at one end, very slight, and only "capable of weighing half a pound." In all of them were found many tiles with round holes in them (evidently roofing tiles), and others "with a bend for channels." Outside the second building was found a heap of bones of sheep and oxen.

From the above facts, Whitaker concluded that the buildings were the *cow-stall, slaughter-house and larder* of the garrison; the round holes in the tiles he thought were *vent holes*, the channels in the tiles were "*ducts by which the blood on the floor discharged itself into the soughs, and was conveyed into the river*," the pipes were for conveying off the "*fluid filth of the cow-stall*," the knife was the *carving-knife of the butcher*, the balance was "*that of the larderer, with which he measured every soldier his portion*," and the square stone was the place where the said rations were distributed. Truly this is a most ingenious flight of imagination—but it is *only* imagination. The whole of the articles named as found in these buildings have long been lost.

In folio 57 of the Watson MSS. (preserved in the Bodleian Library) there is a letter from Dr. John Haysgarth, "a physician at Chester," to Rev. J. Watson, dated August 12th, 1771, in which, after describing a hypocaust then just found at Chester, the discovery of these buildings is thus alluded to :—

> From this account you will, I doubt not, agree with me that was found lately at Castlefield, Manchester, is the dejecta *(sic)* membra of a Roman hypocaust. For 1st, the floor is composed of exactly the same materials. Would it not be right to perforate the floor, in order to measure the thickness, and see whether it is not laid on the solid rock? 2nd. The pillars were placed in rows, and are nearly of the same length, shape and thickness. 3rd. There are several square tiles remaining, similar to those which are placed upon the top of the pillars. 4th. The fragments of broken tile, collected from the rubbish, resemble entirely the roof of the Chester hypocaust in thickness, especially in being perforated with small round holes.

The principal cemetery of *Mancunium* seems to have been on the south-eastern side of the station. Whitaker* tells us that about 1762, "near the eastern

* *Hist. of Manchester*, vol. i., p. 59.

boundary of the field, and on the higher edge of the slope," an urn, composed of fine clay, and glazed, with a slight moulding on the upper part, and embossed with "some unmeaning circles and ill-wrought figures," was found, containing bones, which from their smallness he considered could not have belonged to a human being. In 1765, he says* that another sepulchral urn was found in the same part of the field, lower down the slope, about seven feet below the surface, at the bottom of a narrow hole, little more than the vessel in diameter. It rested on the rock, was composed of "very fine clay" of a "strong coral hue," was ornamented with "fanciful figures and devices," and bore the potter's name—ADVOCISI. It was of the capacity of a quart, was filled with ashes, was "placed in two vessels of much coarser materials," and a piece of the rock acted as a lid. Near the spot were discovered, in 1765-66, "a Roman clasp for the clothes . . . a Roman coin, which had . . . . REDVCI on one side, and . . . . . AN AVG COS upon the other, and a Roman lachrymatory of black glass, deposited in a little hollow on the rock, and *half filled with tears*." In 1782, a similar glass phial was disinterred, "filled with a transparent liquid."† These phials were probably unguent bottles. And in 1832,—

> a coffin was found, on digging on the opposite side of the Medlock to Castle Field. The coffin was enclosed within a casing of red earthenware, and appeared to have been made of oak, as the grain of the wood might be distinctly seen, though it was reduced to a pulpy mass, which soon fell to dust. Bones were seen in the coffin, when it was first opened, but they crumbled on exposure to the air. The coffin was about six feet long. The earthenware plates, which enclosed the coffin, were 20 inches long, 16 inches broad, and 2½ inches thick, including the rim.‡

This is plainly an example of a tile tomb, of which many have been found in Britain, especially at York.§ The "earthenware plates" named by Baines were roofing tiles.

The chief excavations in this cemetery were in 1849, when numerous urns, either whole or in fragments, were discovered. It was intended at the time to deposit these relics at Worsley Hall, but only a few fragments appear to have reached there. Mr. Corbett informs me that at the point marked by a × in the "Plan of *Mancunium*" which accompanies this work, he found "a grave of a vertical form, cylindrical, cut in the rock, and bisected by a cutting made for the short branch canal." Its depth was about 4 feet, width 18 inches, and in it he found some charred bones, fragments of which he kept for some time. They were blue, apparently from a formation of prussiate of

* *History of Manchester*, pp. 32 and 60. † Baines, vol. ii., p. 311. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 360.
§ See Catalogue, York Museum (1881), Nos. 70-73, &c.

potash on their exposed parts. Mr. Corbett had also several fragments of urns of common red pottery, found in the same locality, but nothing of archæological value.

About two miles from the *castrum*, in deepening the channel of the Irwell, near the second lock, there was found buried about a foot deep, in a ridge of gravel, in May, 1772, a gold *bulla*. In form it represented a segment of a circle, and was highly ornamented, as will appear from the engraving.* A hollow tube ran along its upper border for the purpose of holding a cord for suspension round the neck. Its intrinsic value was about twenty-three shillings. According to Whitaker, it found its way to that unfortunate receptacle, the Leverian Museum.† This *bulla*, with the exception of another found at Overborough, is the only example, in gold, found in England. They were worn by youths, and suspended round the neck.



Actual size.

The only other antiquities to be noticed are the coins. Although a large number must have been found, but a very few are now traceable. All those incidentally mentioned previously in this chapter are lost, as are a number found on the bank of the Medlock in 1777,‡ and a gold coin of Otho, found near the station, mentioned by Dr. Stukeley. As in most archæological works (except those purely numismatic) it is considered unnecessary to give the obverse, I have adopted the same plan, but give the coins in chronological order. Of those found in the 1832 excavations, the reverses legible were :—

VITELLIVS	Silver	PONT. MAXIM. Vesta, veiled, seated to right, holding a patera and a sceptre.
VESPASIAN.....	2nd brass	Reverse obliterated.
DOMITIAN	1st brass.....	IOVI. VICTORI. Jupiter, seated to left, holding a Victory in right hand and a spear in the left. In exergue, S. C.
DOMITIAN	2nd brass	Reverse obliterated.
NERVA	1st brass.....	Reverse obliterated.
TRAJAN	1st brass.....	Annona, standing to left, holding ears of corn in right hand and cornucopia in left. SPQR. OPTIMO PRINCIPI.
TRAJAN	2nd brass	A temple. Legend obliterated.

* Copied from Whitaker's, in the absence of the original.

† *Lancashire and Cheshire, Past and Present*, p. 268.

‡ *Hist. of Manchester*, i., p. 81.

HADRIAN	1st brass.....	Female figure (Concord), seated to left. Legend obliterated. In exergue, CONCORDIA.
ANTONINVS PIVS...	2nd brass	Female figure, standing. Legend obliterated. S. C.
LVCIVS VERVS ...	Silver	Captive, seated. TRP. VIII. IMP. IIII. COS. III. In exergue, ARMEN. (Referring to victories in Armenia.)
CARACALLA	Silver	Female figure, standing, facing right; sceptre in right hand. COS. III.
MAGNENTIVS	2nd brass	Two Victories supporting buckler, on which is inscribed, VOTV. MVLT. X. Legend, VICTORIAE DD. NN. AVG. ET. CAES.

A second brass coin of an empress was also found, but too much oxidised to be made out. Most of the above are in poor condition, and they are now preserved at Worsley. I am indebted to Mr. Robert Blair, of South Shields, a well-known numismatist, for much assistance in deciphering them.

The following coins were found during the excavations in 1849, and are now preserved in the Mayer Museum, Liverpool :—

VESPASIAN.....	Silver	Equity standing; scales in right hand, sceptre in left. Legend obliterated.
VESPASIAN.....	Silver	Emperor, sitting to left, holding olive branch and sceptre. PON. MAX. T.R.P. COS. VI.
DOMITIAN	Silver	Altar, with flames. Only part of legend—TRP. COS. VII.—visible.
NERVA	Silver	Justice, sitting to right; sceptre in right hand, olive branch [?] in left. (IV)STITIA. AVGVST. "The Justice of the Augustus."
TRAJAN	Silver	Peace, standing; olive branch in right hand, cornucopia in left. P.M. T.R.P. COS. III. P.P.
ANTONINVS PIVS...	Silver	A funeral pile. CONSECRATIO. The *Obverse* of this coin has the words DIVVS. ANTONINVS. "The deified Antoninus."
PHILIP [?]	2nd brass	A figure of Victory. Legend obliterated.
CLAVDIVS (Gothicus)	3rd brass	Reverse obliterated.
VALENTINIAN	3rd brass	The emperor in military habit, holding the labarum in his right hand, his left on a captive, who is on his knees. Legend, GLORIA. ROMANORVM. In field, OF. I. In exergue, CONST. (The mint mark of Arles.)

There are also preserved, as found at the same time, one third brass coin, quite illegible, and five of the small coins called *minimi*, also illegible.

Accompanying the bronze statuette of Jupiter, there was found a silver coin, which is now in the possession of the Medical Officer of Health (Mr. Leigh).

TRAJAN	Silver	A female, seated on shields; in front, two sickles; behind, two spears. COS. V.P.P. SPQR. OPTIMO. PRINC. In exergue, DAC. CAP.

In 1828, whilst digging for the foundation of the Victoria Bridge, over the Irwell, the workmen found, on the Manchester side of the river, a number of coins, of which the following six, in excellent preservation, are now in the possession of Nathan Heywood, Esq., of Mount Street, Manchester, where I recently inspected them.

CONSTANTINE..... (the Great)	3rd brass	Sun god, with radiated crown, right hand raised, as if pointing to the sun. SOLI. INVICTO. COMITI. In exergue, AQ. P. (*Aquiliae percussa*). "Struck at Aquilia."
CONSTANTINE..... (the Great)	3rd brass	A globe upon an altar, on which is VOTIS. XX. (The vows of twenty years). Above the globe, three stars. BEATA. TRANQVILLITAS. In exergue, S. T. A. (*Signata Treveris Alpha*). "Struck at Treves."
CRISPVS	3rd brass	Sun god, with radiated head, standing, right hand raised; left holding a globe; a crescent in the field. In exergue, P. LN. (*Pecunia Londiniensis*). "Money of London mint."
CONSTANTINVS. II.	3rd brass	. CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. "In honour of our emperors." In the field, VOT. V. (Votis V. The vows of five years.) Exergue, R. S. (*Roma Signata*). "Struck at Rome."
CONSTANTINVS. II.	3rd brass	Same reverse and legend. In field, VOT. X. Exergue, P. T. R. (*Pecunia Treviris*). "Money from Treves."
CONSTANTINOPOLIS	3rd brass	This well-known coin has, *Obverse*, a helmeted female head (representing the city of Constantinople), with a sceptre over the right shoulder; *Reverse*, a winged Victory, walking to the left, with spear in right hand, left resting on a shield. In field, to left, a garland. No legend. In exergue, TR. P. (*Treveris percussa*). "Struck at Treves."

Mr. Heywood also informs me that of three other coins found a few years ago, he has seen the following specimen :—

VESPASIAN	2nd brass	FORTVNAE REDVCI. Fortune, standing with her attributes, dividing the letters S. C. (These stand for *Senatus Consulto*. "By decree of the Senate.")

Such is the total number of Roman coins which I can verify as having been found at Manchester. That many exist in private hands is certain; but the possessors of most of them do not know where they were discovered. Time may yet reveal further numismatic treasures from the site. Those given, range over three centuries, from Vitellius, AD. 69, to Valentinian, who died A.D. 375. The *minimi*, which are small rude coins of the commencement of the fifth century, are evidence that the occupation of Manchester by the Romans only ceased with the termination of their power in Britain.

Whitaker's assertion that a summer camp existed at the junction of the Irk with the Irwell, on the site of the present Victoria Station, has not been verified. Neither coins, pottery, nor remains of any sort have been found, either at the station or in excavations at the neighbouring College. In pulling down the tower of the Cathedral, a few years ago, a block of Roman cement was found, but this seems merely to confirm Leland's statement that the stones, &c., of the *castrum* were used for buildings in the city during the middle ages.

In the Chorography of Ravennas (compiled probably in the sixth or seventh century), Manchester appears to occur as *Mantio*.

Excluding the suburbs, the reader may perhaps obtain a good idea as to the size of *Mancunium* in Dr. Stukeley's remark, that it was "almost as big as Lincoln's Inn Square, the foundation of the wall and ditch remaining." It will be observed that, like Camden and Horsley, he says nothing of a British camp around it.

CHAPTER V.

BREMETONACUM.

(*RIBCHESTER.*)

Ribchester, situated on the north bank of the river Ribble (from which its name is derived), about six miles north-north-west from Blackburn, is now but a small village. The outline of the Roman *castrum*, which would appear to have been the largest in Lancashire, is slightly traceable on the north-west and south-west sides, by the faint appearances of a fosse, and a slight elevation of the ground where the ramparts have stood. The walls have wholly disappeared from above ground; a portion of the north-east and the whole of the south-east side, with the eastern angle, have been washed away by the river—probably one-fourth of the station in all. This destruction still continues. Mr. Just says* that many houses had disappeared within his recollection, swept away by the floods, and that the old people remembered many more. From these causes it seems almost impossible to give any plan or map of the station, as it would simply be conjecture, based on the idea that the parallel sides were of equal length. On this head Mr. Just says, that taking the fosse on the south-western side as a complete side of the station, and from the angle close to the river as the southern extremity, and making a straight line perpendicular to this side, the other angle to complete the rectangle would be on the other side of the river, just over the fence of the field, and directly opposite the brook which forms the boundary of the station on the east. He says the fishermen state that in a line with this, or nearly so, the wall of the rampart extends into the river, and at low water they can stand middle deep on its remains, but when off it on either side, the water is too deep for them. This last fact is confirmed by Whitaker,† who, supposing a British post to have previously existed, and that both it and the Roman station were destroyed by an earthquake (on the faith of tradition),‡ says that they were

totally carried away, and the remains of both buried, where some have been discovered under the bed

* *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. 6, p. 249.

† *History of Manchester*, vol. i., p. 185.

‡ This tradition is in vogue among the inhabitants at most Roman sites.

of sand which forms the meadows on the southern bank of the Ribble. And, in consequence of it, the river, having formed a bay in the northern bank, now winds along the sunken streets of the Roman-British town, and rolls over the levelled remains of the houses. And near the foot of the little street that leads down to the river has been formerly seen, in a dry summer, a long extent of a thick wall, composed of regularly-squared stones, and forming the basis of a great building; as about this part of the river in general, whole pillars, broken capitals, and bases, and Roman coins and inscriptions, have been frequently discovered in the channel.

As far as can be judged at present, the north-western side of the station, which runs from Anchor Hill along the fence of the field north of the church, in a direct line through the village to the brook on the east side, was about 300 yards in length, and the south-western 135 yards. Assuming the other sides to be of somewhat similar dimensions, the area of the *castrum* would be about ten acres. Like *Mancunium*, its angles face the cardinal points. The Ribble defended its south-east side, and a brook—now called Cowley Brook—the north-east. The parish church stands within the area, as does also a portion of the village. The site of the gateway on the north-west side is visible, with the road leading from the Fylde entering it. In 1850 some excavations made for the visit of the British Archæological Association laid bare part of the wall on the south-west side to the foundation, and the latter was found to consist "of loose stones, without mortar or the cement grouting common to such foundations."*

The only two walling-stones recorded as found are both legionary; one of the Twentieth Legion, the other erected by the tenth cohort of a legion whose number is not given, but it was, no doubt, the twentieth. This would seem to point to the erection of the *castrum* occurring at the same time that *Mancunium* came into existence, and like that station it is from earlier writers that a considerable portion of our information as to the appearance of the *castrum* within the last three or four centuries is to be obtained.

The first mention we have of Ribchester, after the Roman period, is in *Domesday*, where it is called "Ribelcastre." From that time until the reign of Henry VIII. nothing is known of it (except perhaps its name occurring in deeds); but Leland, in his *Itinerary (circa* 1540), says:—

> Ribchestre is now a poore thing; it hath been an auncient towne. Great squarid stones, voultes and antique coynes be found ther; and ther is a place wher the people fable that the Jues had a temple.†

* *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. vi., p. 249.

† Hearne's *Leland*, vol. iv, pt. i., p. 22.

The celebrated Camden twice visited Ribchester—in 1582 and 1603; and in his *Britannia** he thus speaks of it:—

> The Rhibell, turning short to the west, gives name to a village call'd at this day *Rible-chester*, where so many marks of Roman Antiquity, as Statues, Coins, Pillars, Pedestals, Chapiters, Altars, Marbles and Inscriptions are commonly dug up, that this hobbling rhyme of the inhabitants does not seem to be altogether groundless:
>
> It is written upon a wall in Rome,
> Ribchester was as rich as any town in Christendom.

Though speculation has been rife as to the origin of this rhyme, there can, I think, be but little difficulty in tracing it. In the copies of the *Tabulae Honestae Missionis*, which have been found in various parts of the Roman world, it is generally stated that their original is affixed to the wall of a temple in Rome. For instance, in that found at Bickley, near Malpas, in Cheshire, in 1812, the following passage occurs: *Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea quae fixa est Romae in muro post templum Divi Augusti ad Minervam;—i.e.*, "Copied and revised from the tablet of brass which is fixed at Rome on the wall behind the temple of the deified Augustus, near that of Minerva." It seems to me, therefore, very probable that a *Tabula Honestae Missionis* had at some period before Camden's visit been found at Ribchester, in which a similar phrase occurred, and which was probably translated (though imperfectly) by the minister of the parish, or some one acquainted with Latin. The country people, knowing nothing of the names of the *alae* and cohorts named therein, have laid hold of the only portion intelligible to them, and hence the rhyme. The abundance of coins found would form the basis of their idea as to the ancient wealth of Ribchester.

The next author who mentions Ribchester is Dr. Leigh, in his *Natural History of Lancashire, Cheshire and the Peak.* He visited Ribchester in 1699. In addition to mentioning the roads from the station, and the inscriptions found in it, he says† that he saw at Anchor Hill (so called from Roman anchors and moorings having been found there) *paterae*, marked on the bottom FAB. PRO. And further, "not far from Anchor Hill I saw a common sewer and a floor composed of Roman tiles." He also saw coins, which had been found in the river bank, of Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Antoninus, Commodus, Severus, Diocletian, &c., chiefly of

* Gough's *Camden* (1806), vol. iii., p. 391.

† Book iii., p. 6, *et seq.*

copper; also a ruby, with Mars on the reverse. He states that much pottery and the finger of a copper statue had been found.

To the Rev. T. E. Gibson, of Southport, I am indebted for the following unpublished extract from the diary of Nicholas Blundell, of Crosby, Esq. It is dated May 15, 1722:—

> May 15.—I came from thence (Stonyhurst) to Ribchester, where I saw two remarkable stones for antiquity. The one is the corner-stone of a building, and supposed to have been part of a Roman alter on which they offer'd up sacrifize; the other is about the thickness of a Rowling-stone, tho' longer, and supposed to have been part of a pillar. I was upon Ancor Hill, where 'tis supposed there had been ancor smith's shop, because sometimes ancors and peices of ancors are found. One who was with me showed me where he or his workmen, a few years since, found neare half a bushell of small ship nailes some yards deep in the said Ancor Hill.

Dr. Stukeley, accompanied by Roger Gale, visited Ribchester in 1725; and at p. 37 of his *Iter Boreale* he thus speaks of it:—

> The river Ribble is very broad at this place, rapid and sonorous, running over the pebbles, and—what is much to be lamented—over innumerable Roman antiquities; for in this long tract of time it has eaten away a third part of the city.* I traced out the old ground plot, and where the wall and ditch went round it, it lay in length east and west along the north side of the river, upon its brink, eight hundred feet long and five hundred broad. Originally, I apprehend, two streets ran along its length, and three crossed them on its breadth. By symmetry, I find the whole channel of the river at present lies within the precinct of the old city, the original channel, on the other side, being filled up with the city walls and rubbish, for it bends with a great elbow towards the city. The eastern limit of the city, or that upward of the river, lies against a brook there falling in; and the two streams playing against that angle have carried it away, and still threaten them. At the western end of the city, or down the stream, a whole road, and some houses too, by a barn, are absorbed; and great quantity of ashler, the remains of the wall, has been carried off for building. Much remains in the ground and on the edge of the stream. Farther up the land and all along the west side of the church wall, the ditch is perfect, and the rampire, where the wall stood pretty high, and the foundation of the wall a little apparent. They tell me the ashler stone still lies its whole length. They call this Anchor Hill, and when digging by the house that stands upon part of it, they found anchors and great quantities of iron pins of all sizes, for ships or barges. The north-west angle of the city is manifest, and where the northern wall turned round the north side of the church. A little way down a lane, at that angle, a great bank runs westward, made of stone, like a Roman road. There is a lane goes down north of the city to the brook, called the "Strand." At the end of this lane is a street, which is the Roman road running directly northward up the fell, called "Green Gate." It passes over Langridge, so through Bowland Forest. It appears green to the eye. The eastern wall, over the brook, stood likewise on a sort of precipice. Just under the "Red Lion," a subterraneous canal comes into the river, so high that one may walk upright in it, paved at the bottom. The stream here is frequently very impetuous, and two or three bridges have

* This is an exaggeration—W.T.W.

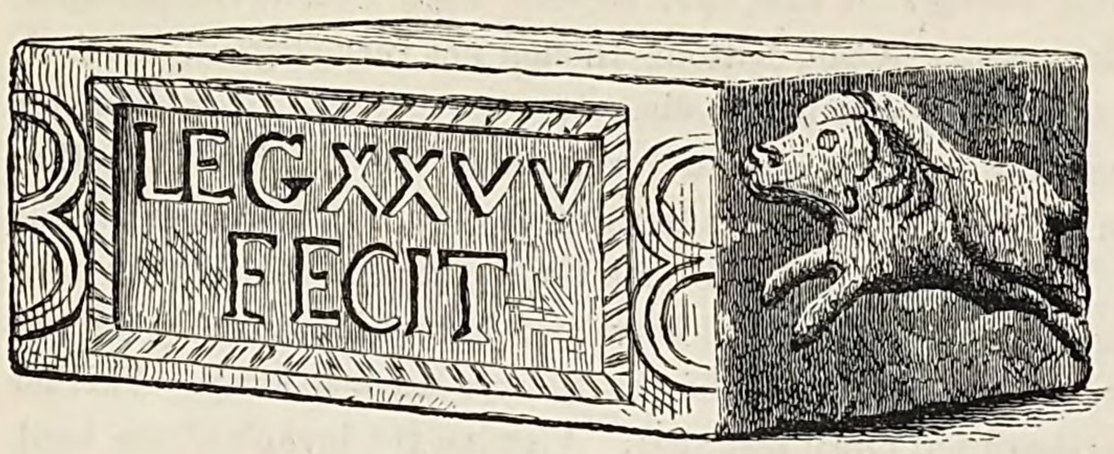
in modern times been swept away by floods. At the door of the "Red Lion" I saw the base of a pillar, and a most noble shaft, seven feet long, handsomely turned, which was fished out of the river. It was doubtless Roman originally, though the base has, I guess, been used as the stump of a later cross. There is a *Scotia* and two *toruses* at the bottom, though not very elegantly formed. The whole is two feet and a half high, and twenty-two inches diameter,—seventeen inches diameter at one top. The *frustrum* of the column lay in the alehouse yard, where the weather and other accidents have obliterated an inscription of three or four lines towards the top. One corner of this house has a Roman partition wall, built of pebbles and hard mortar as usual. This house now (1725) is by the brink of the river, leaving only a scanty road between; but within memory a great many houses opposite (and among them the chief inn of the town) were washed away. Farther on, down the river, a great part of an orchard fell down last year. Viewing the breach of the bank exposed thereby, I saw the joists and boards of a floor of oak, four feet under the present surface, with many bits of Roman bricks, potsherds, etc.; and such floors are to be seen along the whole bank, whence most antiquities are found in the river. The late minister of Ribchester, the Rev. Mr. Ogden, collected all the coins, intaglios and other antiquities found here in great quantities; but his widow, as far as I can learn, disposed of them to Mr. Prescot, of Chester. I was shown the top of a great two-handled amphora, or wine jar, of whitish clay, taken out of the river. I saw another like fragment. I saw a large coin of Domitian, of yellow brass, very fair, found in the river. . . . Another pedestal of a pillar found in the river. Many urns have been found hereabouts, but they are all lost and disregarded since Mr. Ogden died, who collected such things. They know the track of the Roman road all the way over the hills. In a garden by the "Unicorn's Head," a gold finger was found, and another brass finger as large as a man's. Two intaglios of Mercury, with wings on his feet, the caduceus, etc., were found near Anchor Hill. Much ashes and bones were found about the city. Digging in the churchyard, silver coins have been often turned up. Half of one longitudinal street and two latitudinals have been consumed. All the inscriptions have been carried away from Salesbury. . . . At Dinkley I saw two altars, the inscriptions of both obliterated, but well cut. One stood in a grass plot in the garden, covered over with moss and weeds, and was used in the house as a cheese press. The late Mr. Warren was careful of these relics.

Reserving for the present, comment upon the discoveries *within* the station named by these authors, the walling-stones previously mentioned deserve consideration. The first found was that naming the Twentieth Legion, seen by Pennant in 1773, when it was "in the wall of a small house near the church."* Dr. Whitaker next described it in his *History of Whalley* (p. 26) as "the corner-stone of a building, and is now remaining in an out-house near the church. It has two sides exposed, and on the second is a rude figure of a boar," &c. A note is added—"It has since been removed to Browsholme." The stone subsequently came into his possession, and he engraves it in his *History of Richmondshire.*† He bequeathed it with several

* *Tour from Downing to Alston Moor*, p. 93.

† Vol ii., p. 462.

others to the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, where it is now preserved. The annexed engraving represents it.



Leg(io) Vicesima
V(aleria) V(ictrix)
Fecit.

"The Twentieth Legion, Valiant and Victorious, made (this)."

The dimensions of the stone are: Length, 2 feet 4½ inches; Height, 10 inches. The wild boar was the badge of the Twentieth Legion, and occurs on many sculptures and inscriptions left by it.

The other stone was found subsequent to the publication of the *History of Whalley*, but was also bequeathed by Dr. Whitaker to St. John's College, where it remains built up into the wall of the library. The engraving of it, annexed, is taken from a photograph which I had executed in 1881. The stone has never before been engraved. The knowledge of its existence was communicated to me in 1872 by the late Dr. Bateson, Master of the College. In 1873, Professor Hübner published the inscription in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. The stone is a fine red sandstone, and its dimensions are: Height, 9½ inches; Breadth, 11¾ inches.

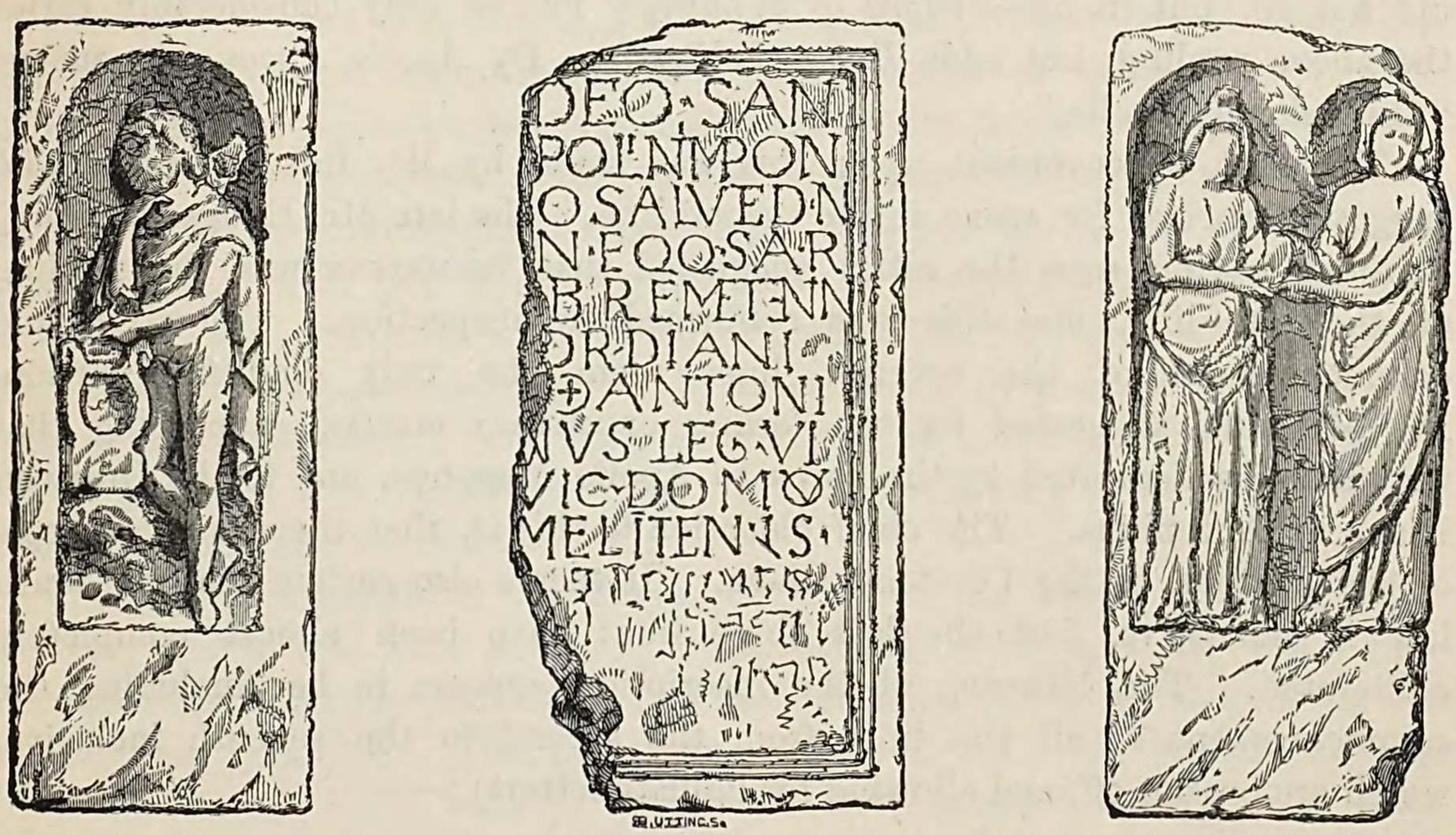


COH. X.	*Coh(ortis) X.*
> TITIANA	*Centuria Titiana*
O. P. XXVII.	*O(pus) [?] P(edum) [?] XXVII.*

The only difficulty with this inscription is the O. P. in the last line. I have given Dr. Hübner's expansion of it. Had the o been absent, the reading would have been plain. "The century (called) Titiana, of the tenth cohort, (built) twenty-seven feet;" and this is the meaning of the inscription. Is it possible that the o is a limitary mark, similar to those at Manchester and Chester? *Titiana* is derived from the name of the centurion, Titianus.

Ribchester was a cavalry station. From an inscribed altar (and two tombstones) found, we gather that a regiment of Polish lancers was once stationed there, which at one time was called the *Ala Sarmatarum*, and at another the *Numerus Equitum Sarmatarum*. At some other period, as another inscription informs us, a regiment of (Spanish) Asturians composed the garrison *(Ala Asturum)*, but its number is not given. From other sources, we know that two *alae* and two cohorts of Asturians served in Britain (the first and second of each).

There is also now preserved, near the foot of the bridge uniting the old and new parts of St. John's College, a large and ornamental altar, bequeathed by Dr. Whitaker, which is interesting as throwing light both upon the name of the station and of its garrison. An anonymous writer, in the Cottonian MSS.* (preserved in the British Museum), informs us that it was dug up at Ribchester in 1578. As it was built up almost immediately into the wall of Salesbury Hall (where, being a corner-stone, its two sculptured sides were



Right side. Front. Height, 4f. 2in. Back.

exposed), both this writer and Camden only obtained a copy of the inscription from another person, and these copies, though almost identical, were so

* F. X., f. 137.

unintelligible that the inscription remained a puzzle until 1814, when Dr. Whitaker was permitted to detach the stone from the wall. Horsley had in the meantime correctly recognised in the fourth line, *Equitum Sarmatarum.*[*]

In the *Archæological Journal*,[†] the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, LL.D. (author of the *Roman Wall)*, gives an engraving of the inscribed face, one side, and the back of this altar. On comparing his engraving with the stone in 1881, I found that the latter had become considerably more weathered than when the drawing was taken, so that I decided, with Dr. Bruce's permission, to reproduce his engraving, and I am accordingly indebted to him for the loan of the woodcuts given on the previous page.

Dr. Whitaker was the first who gave anything approaching a reading of the inscription. In his *History of Richmondshire*[‡] he gives this expansion: *Deo Sancto Apollini Apono ob salutem Domini nostri ala equitum Sarmatarum Breneten sub Dianio Antonino centurione legionis sextae victricis.* Further he did not go, but in his *History of Whalley*[§] he not only considerably varies the above reading, but adds *Domu Velitereis.* By *Apollo Aponus*, he means "the indolent Apollo."

The first improvement upon this was made by Mr. Roach Smith, who suggested MAPONO for APONO in the second line. The late Mr. Hodgson-Hinde[‖] (without having seen the altar) suggested that BREMETENN was the reading of the fifth line, and this was confirmed by inspection. The sixth and commencement of the seventh lines seem the only doubtful portion. Dr. McCaul[¶] suggested for the former OR(ESTEAE) DIAN(AE), supposing that the altar was dedicated by the corps to Apollo Maponus, and to the Orestean Diana by Antoninus. The chief objection to this is, that there is no example of a dedication to the Orestean Diana. It seems also certain that the tenth line is MELITENVS, but the last three lines have been almost completely obliterated. The lettering of the inscription appears to be (including the commencement of all the lines from the second to the seventh inclusive, which are broken off, and allowing for ligulate letters) :—

DEO SAN	*Deo San(cto)*
(A)POLINI MAPON	*Apol(l)ini Mapon(o)*
(PR)O SALVTE DN	*Pro Salute D(omini) N(ostri)*

* *Brit. Romana*, p. 302.

† Vol. xii., pp. 326-8.

‡ Vol. ii., p. 461.

§ 3rd edit. (1818), p. 23.

‖ *Archæologia Aeliana*, vol. iv., p. 111.

¶ *Brit. Rom. Inscr.*, p. 82.

(ET)N. EQQ. SAR.	*et N(umeri) Eq(uitum) Sar(matarum)*
. BREMETENN	*Bremetenn(acensium)*
(G)ORDIANI	*Gordiani (?)*
. Þ ANTONI	*. . . Antoninus*
NVS LEG. VI.	*Leg(ionis) Sextae*
VIC. DOMV	*Vic(tricis) Domu*
MELITENVS	*Melitenus*
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .

i.e., "To the holy god Apollo Maponus for the welfare of our lord (the Emperor) and of the Numerus of Sarmatian horse (styled the) Gordian, ... Antoninus of the Sixth Legion (styled the) Victorious. (His) birth-place (was) Melitene."

Professor Hübner* gives much the same reading, but whether MAT was before BREMETENN in the fifth line, as he thinks, is questionable. There does not seem to be room for it, and it is also unnecessary.† The omission of the name of the Emperor after D. N. is rare, but if the corps bore the title of "Gordian," I opine that Gordian III. is intended,‡ which would make the date of the altar between A.D. 238 and 244. GORDIANAE would be the more correct form for the title, but I seems plain at the termination of the word. The *nomen* of the dedicator is lost at the commencement of the seventh line, his *cognomen*, Antoninus, alone remaining. His position in the legion is not stated, but this is not a rare occurrence in inscriptions. Dr. Hübner, considering the dedicator a centurion, supplies the centurial mark > before LEG.§ Both DOMO and DOMV occur in inscriptions in conjunction with the name of the birth place. The sculptor seems to have first put one termination and then altered it to the other. The fifth line, as giving us the name of the station, is the most valuable.||

The figure represented on the right side of the altar is Apollo, with his lyre, and is still very effective, notwithstanding its age and the rough treatment the altar has met with. If the left side was ever sculptured, the carving has perished. The figures on the back are two females, holding some object (too much worn to be recognisable) between them. The head of the altar was probably removed when it was used for a building-stone.

* *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. vii., No. 218.

† On a tombstone hereafter to be described, the abbreviation SAR. is again given.

‡ Gordian I. and II. (father and son) reigned (conjointly) for about five weeks only.

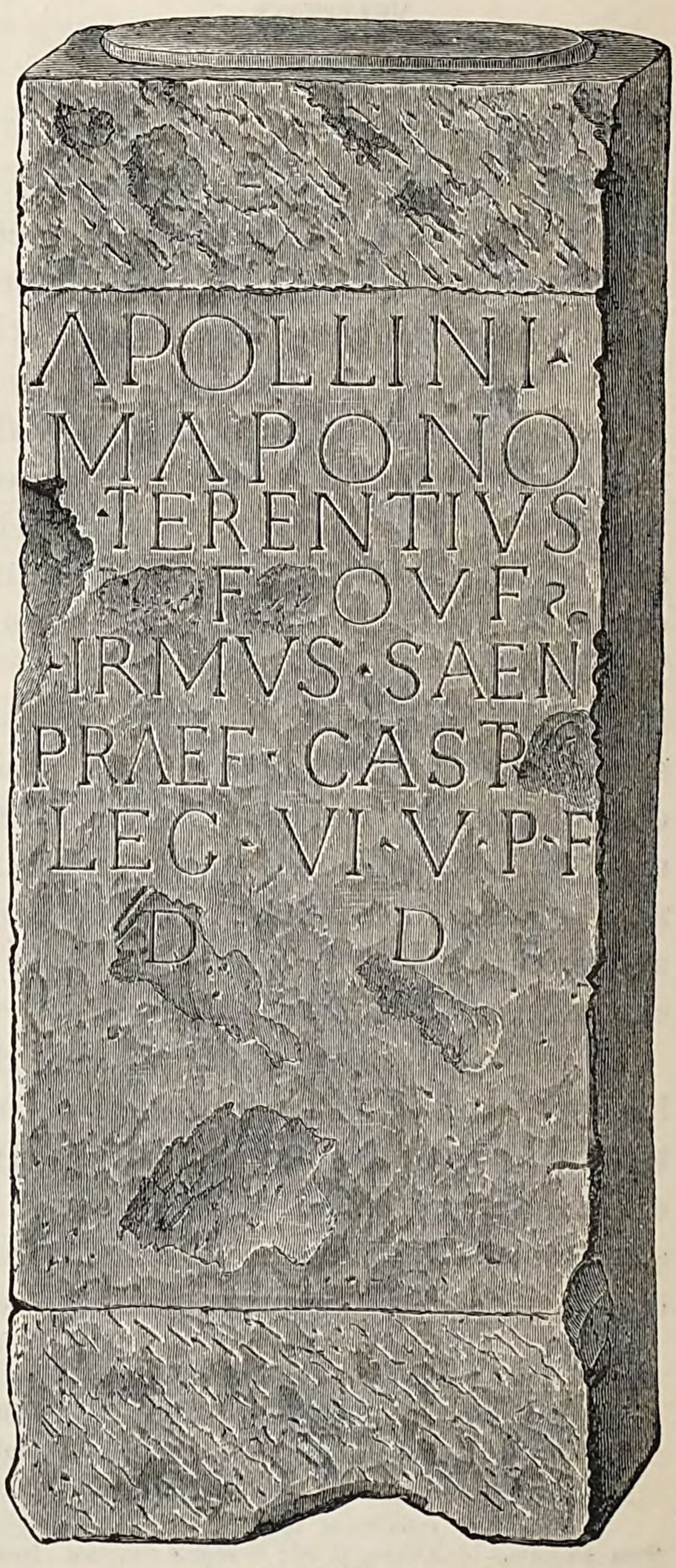
§ He also supplies A at the commencement of the eighth line, thus making the name *Antonianus*.

|| For other references to this altar, see Leigh's *Nat. Hist. of Lancashire*, 3, p. 3; Pennant, *Tour from Downing to Alston*, p. 93; Gough's *Camden* (1806 edit.), 3, p. 391; Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire*, 3, p. 378; *The Celt, Roman and Saxon*, p. 262; and several Continental works.

We find numerous instances of a Roman deity bearing also the name of a British god, who was supposed to possess similar attributes, *e.g.*, *Mars Belatucader*, *Mars Cocidius*, *Silvanus Cocidius*, &c. In this particular instance, two other inscribed altars have been found in Britain, bearing the name of Maponus, on one of which he is again styled Apollo Maponus. Through the courtesy of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, I am enabled here to reproduce the engravings of these, which originally appeared in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*.



No. 1.—Height, 3ft. 4in.



No. 2.—Height, 4ft. 3in.

No. 1* was found near the Roman station at Plumpton, or Old Penrith, in Cumberland, and translated is : "To the god Maponus and the divinity of the Augustus, Durio and Ramio and Trupo and Lurio, Germans, perform their vow willingly to a deserving object." No. 2† reads : "To Apollo Maponus, . . Terentius Firmus, the son of . . . . , of the tribe Oufentina, a native of Saena, Praefect of the camps of the Sixth Legion, (styled) the Pious (and) Faithful, gives (this) gift." The last three words refer to the D. D. at the end of the inscription, which stand for *D(onum) d(at)*.

This is all that is known as to Maponus, but the anonymous Chorographer, Ravennas, gives in his list of Roman towns in Britain, *Maponi*, which probably should be *Fanum Maponi*, and was the name of the place where this deity had a temple. Its site is as yet unknown.

The other inscription, which gives us the name of the *Ala Asturum*, is also noticed by the same anonymous writer, in the Cottonian MSS.,‡ as seen by him at Ribchester in April, 1580. Camden says of it : "In the year 1603, when I came a second time to see this place, I met with an altar, the largest and the fairest that I ever saw, with this inscription :—



Height, 2ft. 9in.

DEIS MATRIBVS *Deis Matribus*
M. INGENVI *M(arcus) Ingenuius*
VS ASIATICVS *Asiaticus*
DEC. AL. AST.
Dec(urio) Al(ae) Ast(urum)
SS. LL. M.
S(usceptum) S(olvit) L(aetus) L(ibens) M(erito)

He subsequently tells us that it was in the house of Thomas Rhodes. The altar was first removed to Salesbury, then to Dinkley Hall, and eventually, in 1822, to Stonyhurst College, where it is now preserved ; but the inscription is almost obliterated. In the above woodcut the inscription is given from a copy taken about fifty years since by the late Mr. Egerton Smith, and the

* *Lap. Sept.*, No. 793. † *Ibid.*, No. 657. ‡ Julius F. X., f. 137.

outline of the altar from an engraving in vol. vi. of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* (p. 233).* The translation of the inscription is:— "To the goddess mothers, Marcus Ingenuius Asiaticus, a Decurion of the cavalry regiment (or wing) of the Astures, performs his vow (or undertaking) willingly (and) dutifully to a deserving object." The word *Deis*, instead of the usual form, *Deabus*, is peculiar, though it is the purer Latin. The altar is 22 inches in breadth. Camden says of this inscription: "Upon enquiry who these *Deae Matres* are, I can find nothing (for among all the inscriptions in the world, except in one other found here in Britain, there is not the least mention of them)." Since Camden's time, about thirty-five more dedications to these *Deae Matres* have been found in Britain, and some of them under various titles, such as *Matribus Tramarinis*, *Matribus Campestribus*, *Matribus Domesticis*, *Matribus Suis*, &c., &c.; and, lastly, an altar was found in 1881, at Colchester, with the title *Matribus Sulevis*. A dedication to the *Sulevae*, simply, was found in the last century at Bath, but we now find they were included under the title of *Matres*. As the Ribchester altar was the *first* found dedicated to the *Matres*, I have introduced an engraving of that found at Colchester, as being (for the present) the *last* of the series.



Height, 4 feet 2 inches.

MATRIBVS "To the mothers
SVLEVIS the Sulevae
SIMILIS. AETEI(I)† F(ILIVS)
Similis the son of Aeteius
CI(VIS) CANT(ABRIAE) a citizen of Cantabria
V(OTUM) L(IBENS). S(OLVIT) performs his vow
willingly."

Sculptures, representing these goddesses, have frequently been found on various Britanno-Roman sites. They are generally represented by three sitting female figures, each bearing a basket of fruit in her lap, and seem to have been considered as watching over the houses, property, and

* See also Burton's *Itinerary of Antoninus*, p. 243; Leigh, *Nat. Hist. of Lancashire*, 3, p. 4; Gale, *Itin. of Antoninus*, p. 119; Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 303; Gough's *Camden* (1806), vol. iii., p. 378; *Hist. of Whalley*, p. 26; Baines, *Hist. of Lancashire*, 3, p. 378, and a number of Continental works.

† This has been read as ATTI(I), but the first T has plainly an E ligulate with it on each side.

welfare of the people. Their worship long survived the introduction of Christianity, in fact, was carried far into the middle ages.

Camden informs us* that he saw also another little altar cast out among the rubbish, with this inscription :—

PACIFE	*Pacifero*	"To Mars Pacifer
RO MARTI	*Marti*	
ELEGAVR	. . . . .	. . . . .
BA. POS	*Posuit*	has placed (this)
VIT. EX. VO	*Ex. Voto*	(in fulfilment of) a vow."
TO		

This is the only inscription found in Britain to Mars Pacifer. ("The Peaceful Mars.") The name of the dedicator in the third and commencement of the fourth lines has evidently been given incorrectly. Horsley proposed *Eleg(ans) Aur(elius) Ba(ssus)*, but *Elegans* would be unusual and unlikely, if indeed such a name was ever used as a *praenomen*. Professors Hübner and Mommsen, considering A as the termination of the *cognomen*, and that it was that of a woman, read *Maec(i)a Urba(na)* and *Fl(avia) Scauria(na)* respectively. If a woman was the dedicator, which, although unusual, seems likely from the inscription, I would suggest, from the letters given, some of which were, no doubt, ligulate, that the name was *Felic(ia) Aurelia(na)*. Camden further says, "This is so small that it seems to have been the portable altar of some poor man, only for the offering of incense or salt flour." The altar has not been heard of since his time.†

The same anonymous writer in the Cottonian MSS.‡ says that he saw another stone, from Ribchester, "att Mr. Preston's, att Preston." It was probably the base of an altar, and has not since been heard of. It bore the following inscription :—

PATER SATVR	*Pater(nius)*
NNVS	*Saturn(i)nus*
I. O. V. L.	. . . . .

Dr. Hübner§ conjecturally expands the last line as—*I(ovi) O(ptimo) V(ovit) L(ibens)*.

* Edition vi. (1607), p. 615; Gough's *Camden* (1806), 3, p. 378.

† See also Leigh, *Nat. Hist. of Lancashire*, 3, p. 4; Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 303; Gough's *Camden* (1806), vol. iii., p. 391; *Hist. of Whalley*, p. 25; Baines' *Hist. of Lanc.*, vol. iii., p. 378, and several Continental works.

‡ Julius F. X., f. 137.

§ *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. vii., No. 223.

Another inscription found here, and now lost, was first described by Camden;* and a copy of what seems to be the same is given by Robert Talbot, in the Cottonian MSS.,† but, as the readings vary, it is necessary to give both :—

Camden.	*Talbot.*	
DEO	DEO MARTI	"To the god Mars
MARTI. ET	ET VICTORIAE	and Victory
VICTORIAE	P. R. . . . . NO	. . . . .
DD. AVGG.	H . CC . NN	. . . our Caesars."
ET . CC . NN		

Had Camden rendered the last two lines as DD . NN . AVGG ET . CC. there would have been no difficulty in reading the inscription, as their expansion would be *Dominorum Nostrorum Augustorum et Caesarum*; the whole inscription reading, "To the god Mars, and the victory of our lords the Augusti and Caesars." In that event it could not have been of an earlier date than A.D. 292, when Diocletian and Maximianus appointed Valerius Maximianus and Constantius Chlorus, Caesars. Dr. Hübner‡ prefers to accept Talbot's reading as the correct one, and expands the inscription as *Deo Marti et Victoriae p(opuli) R(omani) (in ho)no(rem) C(aesarum) N(ostrorum).* "To the god Mars and the victory of the Roman people, in honour of our Caesars." It was preserved, according to Talbot, at Salesbury Hall (the seat of the Talbots), where Camden saw it. Dr. Leigh§ saw it at Mr. Warren's (*i.e.*, Dinkley Hall), and it was no doubt one of the two seen by Dr. Stukeley at that place, as the other is known to be that now preserved at Stonyhurst. Camden calls it "the base of a pillar," but it was no doubt the base of an altar, as Stukeley states. We further learn from Talbot that it was found in a wood called "Kettlehurst;" in all probability it had been removed there from the *castrum.*‖ From this inscription and that on the altar preserved at Stoneyhurst, Dr. Leigh (Book 3, p. 8) has concocted another, which requires but a glance to show that it is spurious.

Horsley saw, at the station, the left-hand portion of a fine inscription, which he (though, as will be seen, erroneously) considered to have been dedicated to

* 1st edition, p. 431 ; 6th edition, p. 614.

† Julius F. X., f. 137.

‡ *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. vii., No. 220.

§ *Nat. Hist. Lancashire*, 3, p. 3.

‖ See also Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 303 ; Gale, *Antonini Itinerarium*, p. 119 ; Gough's *Camden* (1806), vol. iii., p. 391 ; *History of Whalley*, p. 25 ; and Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire*, vol. iii., p. 378.

Severus and Caracalla. It was then "lying at the door of a dwelling-house,"* and he gives (*Lancashire*, No. 2) a somewhat rude engraving. The before-mentioned anonymous writer, in the Cottonian MSS., gives us, however, the copy of another portion of it, which had been lost by Horsley's time. The parts then remaining (divested of ligatures) I have given below, in the ordinary Roman characters, filling up, as far as it is possible to restore it, the missing portion of the inscription in small *italic* characters.

IMP. CA*es. M. Av*REL A*ntonino* . . . . . *et*
IMP. CA*es. L. Av*REL V*ero* . . . . . *Avgg.*
VEX. LEG*ionis Sex* TAE *Victricis* . . . . . .
SVB. SEX. *Calpu*RN*io Agricola Leg. Avgg. Pr. Pr.*

This inscription, which is of the reign of the joint emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, must have been executed between A.D. 161 and 169, in which last year Verus died, and is the earliest *dated* inscription found at the station. Sextus Calpurnius Agricola, as we have before seen (*ante*, p. 14), was Imperial Legate here during part of that period. The inscription expanded is: *Imperatori Caesari Marco Aurelio Antonino . . . . . et Imperatori Caesari Lucio Aurelio Vero . . . . . Augustis, Vexillatio Legionis Sextae Victricis . . . . . Sub Sexto Calpurnio Agricola Legato Augustorum Pro Praetore.* "To the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus . . . . . and the Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus . . . . . (the) Augusti; a vexillation of the Sixth Legion (styled) the Victorious . . . . . under Sextus Calpurnius Agricola, Legate of the Augusti (or emperors) Pro Praetor." The space left vacant after *Antonino* in the first line, and after *Vero* in the second, has probably contained the titles of each Emperor, whilst the space after *Victricis*, in the fourth, has embraced some such words as *Templum restituit* ("restored the temple"), or otherwise indicated the nature of the work done by the vexillation, which is commemorated by the slab. The inscription was cut within a moulding, flanked (as many other similar inscriptions were) by representations of *peltae* or semi-lunar shaped shields. It much resembles one of the slabs placed over the gateways of *castra*, but if it occupied this position, the work done must have been a *re*-building. I am however inclined to believe that it belonged to a temple or some place of public resort—perhaps the forum. This is the second time we have had a trace of a portion of the Sixth Legion being

* *Brit. Rom.*, p. 302.

at the station. Pennant saw the left hand portion of this stone at Ribchester in 1773,* and Dr. Whitaker† states that in 1818 he saw it in a garden wall, in the village, into which it was built, but the letters were more than half effaced. The right hand portion of the inscription (as restored in small letters) appears never to have been found, and the central portion was broken off sometime during the seventeenth or early in the eighteenth century, leaving only the commencement (IMP.CA || IMP.CA || VEX.LEG || SVB.SEX), as seen by Horsley, Pennant, and Whitaker. After many enquiries, I cannot ascertain whether this fragment is still in existence.

There is one interesting fact which I think we may gather from this inscription. The anonymous copier of it, speaking of the portion (restored) between the commencement and centre, says that the letters were there "burned off." In the reign of Commodus (the successor of Marcus Aurelius), as we have seen, there was a great revolt of the northern tribes, who, after breaking through the great Wall, poured down upon the stations south of it. This slab would then be barely twenty years old. Have we not in this fire-scarred stone a trace of the insurrection? It is remarkable that, with the exception of one small shattered fragment, no inscription dedicated to Commodus has been found in Britain, and the only other inscription on stone, dedicated to Aurelius and Verus, has been shattered in a similar manner.‡ On the other hand, the bulk of the inscriptions dedicated to later Emperors are almost entire, though of course there are exceptions.

Proceeding still with the earlier discoveries, I recently noticed in the Cottonian MSS.§ a letter from Roger Dodsworthe to Sir Robert Cotton, dated 26 February, 1622, in which, after noting some discoveries of Roman monuments at Catterick, in Yorkshire, he says, "I have found a piece of a round pillar at Ribblecester." He describes it as about half a yard wide, and "sculpt on one side with letters." In another letter in the same volume (f. 405) he says, "Thes letters are on the side of a piece of a round pillar, ffound at Riblecester this last summer, and seene by me the 12th of 9ber 1612, but ther is other letters thereon which I cannot expresse by reason of my unexperience in thes kind of antiquities." He then gives the inscription as below.

The inscription is also mentioned by Dr. Leigh, who says (Book 3, p. 7),

* *Tour from Downing to Alston*, p. 93. † *Hist. of Whalley*, 3rd edit. (1818), p. 27.

‡ I do not include an altar to Jupiter and these Emperors, found at Ilkley, nor several pigs of lead bearing their names.

§ Julius VI., p. 298.

"I saw a pillar, about seventeen inches diameter, with letters upon it, but these in a great measure erased and not at all legible." In pl. i., fig. 20, there is a rude engraving of "a Roman pillar, found several yards underground, at Ribchester." It is represented as being perfectly round, with six dotted lines upon it, and is probably meant for the inscribed one he names; towards the end of the fifth line of dots an s is introduced.

Horsley describes and rudely engraves* a pillar, 17 inches in diameter, and says, "the form of this looks somewhat like a milliary pillar; it was lying in a garden at the west end of the town and near the river. So much of the inscription is quite effaced as makes it hard to guess at the meaning of the whole." His reading of the inscription is very different from that given by Dodsworthe, and I think it is decidedly another stone; but as Dr. Hübner† concludes they are one and the same, it is best to give the two readings side by side.

Dodsworthe.	*Horsley.*
EN	IMP . CAES
IMP . CAES	MA . . . . .
G . MES . IOQ	CO P MAX TI
DEC . IO . TRN	. . . . .
	. . . . .
	. . . . .
	. . . . .
	. . . . OM . . I
	CIGI . . . . .
	SEIFE

As both inscriptions are lost, nothing further can be said with certainty. They are undoubtedly milestones; and the first plainly reads—*D(omino) N(ostro)*‡ *Imp(eratore) Caes(are) G(aio) Mes(s)io Q(uinto) Decio Tr(aia)n(o)* . . . . . , and refers to the Emperor Decius, who reigned A.D. 249-251. Another milestone of the same Emperor has been found at Lancaster. It will be remembered that Horsley did not see the inscription he names until nearly 120 years after Dodsworthe was at Ribchester, by which time the stone seen by the latter might be very much worn; but making this allowance, the two readings seem quite incompatible. Horsley read the commencement of the inscription he gives, as—*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) A(urelio)* . . . . *Co(nsuli) P(ontifici) Max(imo) Tr(ibunitia) P(otestate)* . . . . . , but does not attempt to

* *Britannia Romana*, Lancashire, fig. 3, and p. 302. † *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. vii., No. 1171.

‡ There is no doubt but that Dodsworthe should have given D . N. (the usual *formula*) in the first line, instead of E . N.

read the last three lines. There seems space for a number of lines between the first three and the last three in his engraving, in fact, Dr. Hübner thinks for ten. It is much to be regretted that the end of the inscription was not complete, for the number of miles from some place would be given, and I strongly suspect that in SEIFE we have part of the name of the *Portus Setantiorum*, erroneously read. Horsley gives these letters doubtfully.

In the above-named letter of Dodsworthe to Sir R. Cotton, he also says, "I saw here a little table of freestone, not half a yard square, with the portraiture of 3 armed men cut therein, but no inscription at all thereon."

Mr. Pennant* thus refers to another stone found here—"The next sculpture I saw was discovered in digging a grave in the churchyard of Ribchester," (consquently *within* the castrum) "and is in the possession of Mr. Aspinal," (of Standen Hall, near Clitheroe.) "It represents a Roman soldier carrying the *Labarum vexillum*, or standard of the cavalry. The bearer is here dismounted," &c. He gives an engraving of it,† from which it appears that the standard is not the *labarum*, but the ordinary *vexillum*, and in the left hand the figure holds something resembling a club.

Dr. Whitaker‡ also notices the stone, which he calls sepulchral, "without inscription, but with a figure, in high relief, of a Roman standard-bearer of the lower empire, with the *labarum* in his hand." Fortunately, this stone is still in existence, but in a very worn and dilapidated condition. It is built up in the wall over the back door at Standen Hall; and through the courtesy of R. I. Aspinall, Esq., the present owner, I have been enabled to give the annexed representation of it, from a photograph taken specially by Mr. D. Geddes, of Blackburn.§ The left arm, with the weapon it held, is now broken off, and the figure appears to be very rudely executed. There is, however, no special reason to consider the stone sepulchral, as stated by Dr. Whitaker.



Height, 16½ inches.

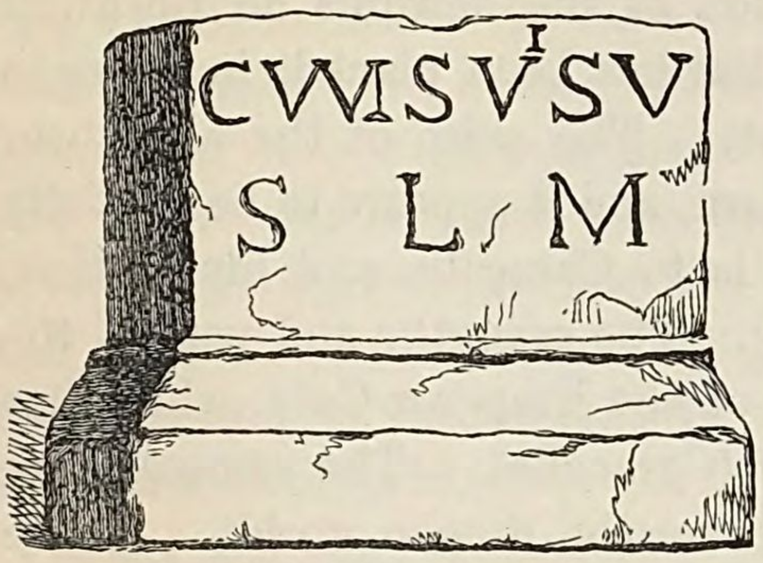
In 1818, whilst Dr. Whitaker was examining a dilapidated chimney, adjoining the west side of what he terms "the peristyle of the temple of Minerva,"

* *Tour from Downing to Alston*, p. 94. † *Ibid.*, p. 124, with another sculpture from Ilkley.

‡ *Hist. of Whalley*, p. 28.

§ I have to thank this gentleman for his valuable services in photographing this and another stone subsequently to be described.

he found, built into it, the lower portion of an altar, which is now at St. John's College, Cambridge, and is represented in the annexed woodcut.



Height, 1 foot 5 inches.

. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
CVM SVIS V.	*Cum Suis V(otum)*
S. L. M.	*S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

The altar has been dedicated to some deity, by a person whose name is lost, "with his family (*cum suis*). He performs his vow willingly to a deserving object."

On the 28th February, 1833, there was found, whilst digging in the churchyard, a fine inscribed altar, 2 feet 10 inches high, 1 foot 10 inches broad, and 1 foot 7 inches in thickness. For many years it was preserved at Ribchester rectory, but about 1877 came by purchase into the possession of the Marquis de Rothwell, of Sharples Hall, near Bolton, where it is now preserved; and I am indebted to the Marquis for allowing me to have it photographed.



PRO SALVTE

ET VICTORIA

INVICTI. IMP. MAR.

AVR. SEVER. ANT

ONINI P.F. AVG. ET IVL

AVG. MATRI. D.N ET CAS

. . . . . .

. . . . RIS SEPT. RS

The expansion would read:—*Pro Salute Et Victoria Invicti Imp(eratoris) Mar(ci) Aur(elii) Sev(eri) Antonini P(ii) F(elicis) Aug(usti) Et Jul(iae) Aug(ustae) Matri(s) D(omini) N(ostris) et Cas(trorum) (Frat)ris Sept(imii)* . .

The base of the altar was gone when it was discovered, and it is doubtful if we have the whole of the inscription. A portion of the capital, however, remained, but since it came into the possession of the Marquis de Rothwell this has been removed, and the top of the altar has been planed, in order to support a large slab, forming a base for a bust. The sides of the altar bear representations of vine branches, now much worn, and it appears to be partially reddened, as if by burning. The inscription is to Caracalla and his mother, Julia Domna (the widow of Septimius Severus). The seventh, and part of the eighth line have contained the name and titles of the Emperor Geta, which has been purposely erased by order of his brother (Caracalla). The same erasure occurs in many inscriptions in Britain, and all over the Roman world. As the inscription was executed between the death of Septimius Severus and the murder of Geta, its date is between February, A.D. 211, and February, A.D. 212.

On first inspecting this altar, I found that another s was visible before what was generally considered to be SEPR, in the last line, but on sending a copy of the photograph to Dr. McCaul, of Toronto, that eminent epigraphist detected RIS. He also found that the letter T was ligulate with the P, and that an S succeeded the last R; thus making the portion visible, RIS. SEPT. RS., which, from further inspection, I can confirm. To him I am indebted also for the suggestion that the first portion of these letters indicate (*Frat*)*ris Sept*(*imii*). What the letters RS. mean, is as yet a puzzle. It should be mentioned that though these nearly-obliterated letters may be detected by an epigraphist, it is absolutely impossible to reproduce them in an engraving. This will account for their absence in the woodcut.

The inscription may be translated, "For the safety (or welfare) and victory of the unconquerable Emperor, Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus, the Pious, the Fortunate, Augustus, and of Julia Augusta, the mother of our lord (the emperor) and of the camps." The remainder it is impossible to add with certainty.*

In 1818, an altar, uninscribed, was found in the cellar of the "White Bull" Inn. It was kept for some time in the back yard of the house, where it was seen by the members of the British Archæological Association in 1850, but has now disappeared. The present occupier of the inn, who has been there for twenty-six years, says that it has not been there since he came to the house, nor could inquiries in the village elicit where it was removed to.

* A very rude engraving of this altar is given in Baines' *History of Lancashire* (edit. 1836) vol. iii., p. 380. A copy of the inscription appears also in *Corpus Inser. Latin.*, vol. vii., No. 226, with Dr. Hübner's reading. I must express my thanks to Mr. Thomas Parkinson, of the Grammar School, Bolton, for obligingly photographing this altar and the steelyard found here, also preserved at Sharples Hall.

There was formerly preserved, built into a wall at Osbaldeston Hall, as noted by Dr. Whitaker,* a rude figure of Hercules. It was removed thence to the Old Hall at Tabley, in Cheshire, where, by Lord de Tabley's permission it was photographed for this work in 1881, and is now for the first time engraved. Hercules is here represented as holding the club in his right hand, and over the left shoulder is thrown the skin of the Nemæan lion.† Similar statues of him have been found elsewhere in Britain.



Height, 2 feet 6 inches.

That the station possessed buildings of no mean pretensions, the architectural fragments found prove; and I have deferred describing the next inscription until treating of the building to which it belonged, with the remains of others found.

In his *History of Whalley*,‡ Dr. Whitaker says :—

In the month of July, 1811, some workmen, employed to stop the encroachments of the Ribble almost opposite to the parish church of Ribchester, at the depth of about a yard beneath the present surface, met with the foundation of two parallel walls, lying nearly North and South, at the distance of about twenty-four yards from each other, and very strongly cemented. The south side appears to have been carried away by the river, that on the north remained for the present unexplored. Among the rubbish were five human sculls, and a corresponding quantity of other bones, all of which had been disturbed before. At the same time and place was discovered a very curious stylus or bodkin, of hard yellow stone. Within the walls was an ordinary flagged floor; and near the south end lay the remains of a large flat stone, which the workmen inadvertently broke into many pieces before they discovered that the lower surface contained an inscription. The fragments being carefully collected and put together, exhibited the following appearance.

A very fair representation of the stone is then given. The latter is now preserved at St. John's College, Cambridge; and from a photograph of it, which, in 1881, I had taken there, the appended engraving has been reproduced. The letters now visible are the same as in Whitaker's engraving, with the exception that he makes the first two letters of the inscription RO, which may be correct, and that after EIVS, at the end of the third line, he gives a ligulate letter ꟼ, *i.e.*, PP, which should evidently be PR. At least one line, the first,

* *Hist. of Whalley* (3rd edit.) p. 541.

† In the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. vi., p. 241, it is said to be a figure of Mars, with his spear, but this is unquestionably erroneous.

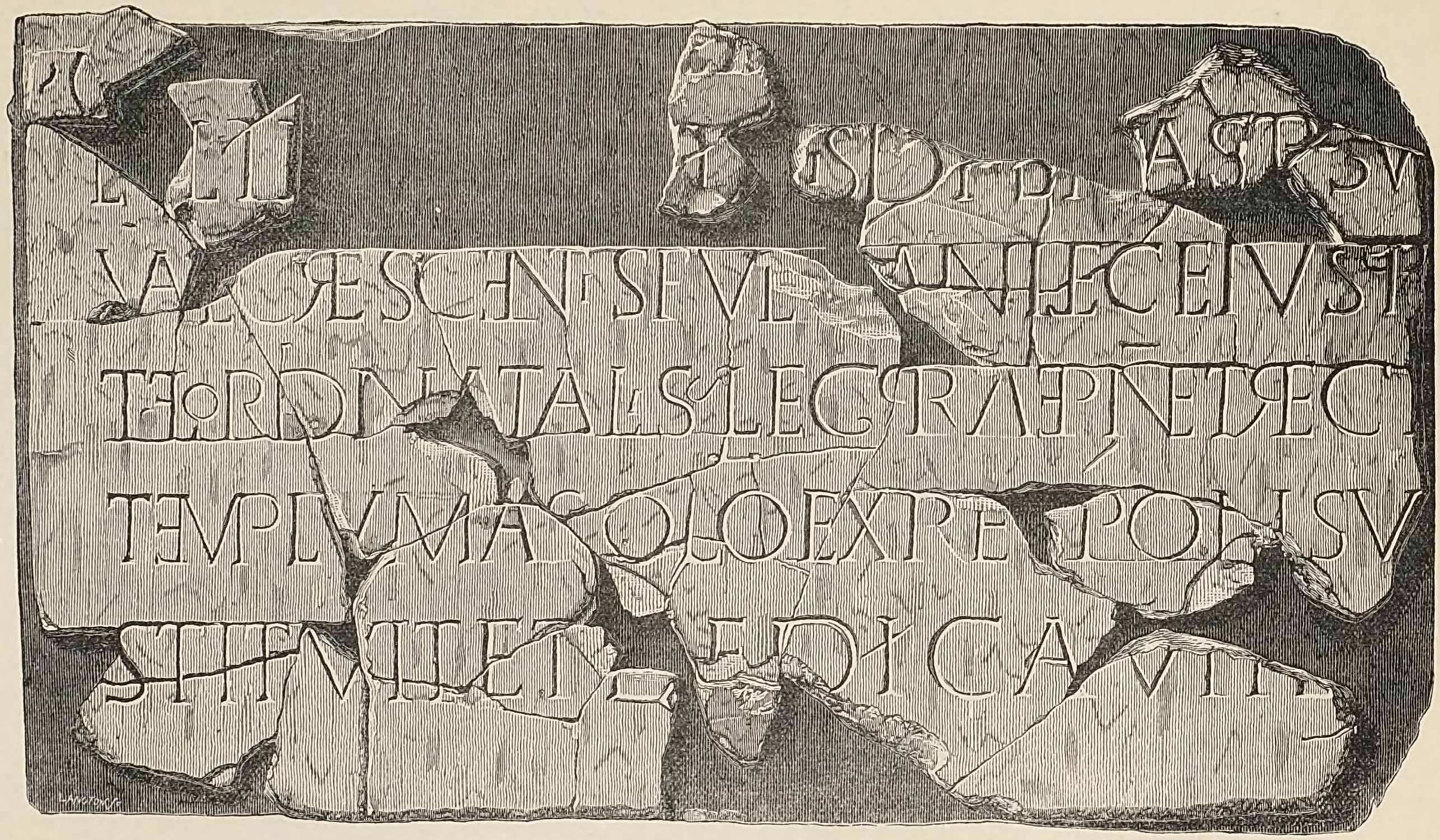
‡ 3rd edition, p. 17.

and the whole of the second, with the exception of its first two letters, now almost illegible, are broken off; but the remainder of the inscription may be easily read. Divested of ligatures, it is—

. . . . . .
RO . . . . . .
L . LI . . . . (MA)T(R)IS . D . N . ET . (C)ASTR . SV(B . C .)
VAL . CRESCENTIS . FVL(VI)ANI LEG EIVS PR . (PR)
T . FLORID . NATALIS LEG . PRAEP . N̄ . ET RECT(OR)
TEMPLVM A SOLO . EX . RE(S)PONSV . (RE)
STITVIT . ET . DEDICAVIT . . . . . .

From the occurrence of the words "*Matris domini nostri et Castrorum*," it is plain that the inscription has been dedicated (in addition probably to a deity) either to Caracalla and his mother Julia Domna, or to Severus Alexander and his mother Julia Mammaea—(the title having been borne only by those Empresses), but which of them it is impossible, from the shattered state of the stone, to say. The slab also yields us the name of an Imperial Legate (Governor of Britain), Valerius Crescens Fulvianus, otherwise unknown; but he appears to have been absent when the inscription was cut, as the *Legatus Legionis*, Titus Floridius Natalis, is named as restoring and inaugurating the temple referred to in the inscription. In the latter, Natalis bears the title of *Rector*. Dr. Whitaker, who did not observe the remains of the T in this word, and who read the letters preceding it as REG, states* that they are the abbreviation of REGINA; and as a fine bronze helmet, or mask helmet (hereafter to be described), had been found in the supposed ruins of the temple, which he concluded (very erroneously) represented the head of the goddess Minerva, he considered not only that the inscription had been dedicated to her, but that the title of REGINA was here applied to her. The first one to give a correct reading of this word was the Rev. J. McCaul, LL.D. (author of *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*,) who, in a private letter to the author as far back as January, 1871, pointed out that it must be RECTOR; and in 1873, Dr. Hübner published the same reading.† Natalis was probably the *Legatus* of the Sixth Legion, stationed at York. In the absence of the governor, Tacitus tells us the *Legati Legionum* then "*provinciam rexere.*"‡ The words *ex responsu* imply the consultation of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated, or of some other deity, through

* *History of Whalley*, p. 17. † *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. vii., No. 222. ‡ Tacitus, *Hist.*, I., 66.



ROMAN INSCRIBED TABLET, FOUND AT RIBCHESTER.

Preserved at St. John's College, Cambridge. Height, 2ft. 3in. ; width, 4ft. 1in.

an oracle or *haruspex*. The expansion of the inscription is—(*Deo . . . p*)*ro* (*salute Imperatoris . . . . . et Juliae . . . . . ma*) *tris D*(*omini*) *N*(*ostri*) *et* (*C*)*astr*(*orum*) *su*(*b cura*) *Val*(*erii*) *Crescentis Ful*(*vi*)*ani Leg*(*ati*) *eivs Pr*(*o Praetore*). *T*(*itus*) *Florid*(*ius*) *Natalis Leg*(*atus*) *Praep*(*ositus*) *N*(*oster*) *et Rect*(*or*) *Templum a solo ex responsu* (*re*)*stituit et dedicavit.* The translation being, " To the god (or goddess) . . . . . for the safety (or welfare) of the Emperor . . . . and of Julia . . . . . the mother of our lord (the Emperor) and of the camps, under the care of Valerius Crescens Fulvianus his Legate (and) Pro Praetor, Titus Floridius Natalis, Legate, our *Praepositus* and Governor, from the reply (of the deity or oracle) restored the temple from the ground and inaugurated (it)." *Dedicare* frequently means " to open " or " to inaugurate," as well as to dedicate.*

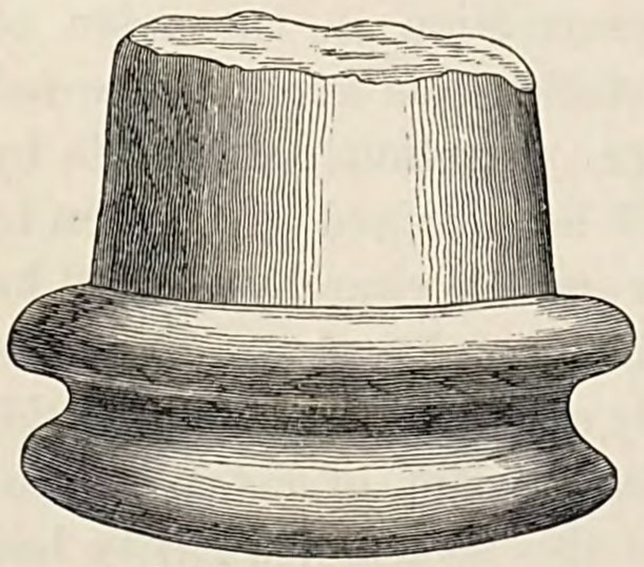
We have here evidence of the existence of at least one temple at *Bremetonacum*, and the fact of its requiring restoration or rebuilding in the early part of the third century. How long had it been dilapidated? Can it have remained so from the time of the insurrection in the reign of Commodus? That it was burnt down when the station was finally destroyed is proved by subsequent discoveries. Some further excavations were made by Dr. Whitaker at this spot. In the summer of 1813 he obtained permission to excavate in the adjoining gardens, between the river and the churchyard, and he accordingly explored as far as the south wall of the churchyard would admit. At a slight distance beneath the surface, immediately under the vegetable mould, he came upon a stratum of charcoal, evidently the remains of a timber roof which had been burned. Nearly in the centre of this stratum, a cavity had been made by the uniting of the ends of the beams in their fall, large enough to contain a man sitting. Beneath this was a confused mass of large *amphorae*, some almost entire at first, and many remnants of Samian *paterae*. Several skeletons of tall, powerful men were lying among them. A steelyard and a denarius of one of the Antonines, in bad condition, were found. The conclusion come to was, that the building had evidently been stormed and burnt—some of the defenders perishing in the ruins; but an extraordinary fact was that no roof-tiles, or slates, were found. A few months afterwards, the sexton, in digging a grave in a previously unused spot in the churchyard, on the left hand of the entrance, found the base of a column and an *anta* " or

* Other letters have followed *dedicavit* in the last line, as will be seen from the engraving. Dr. Hübner suggests that they have been D. S. P., *i.e.*, *de sua pecunia*.

square-moulded corner of the *naos* itself, upright, and in their original situations," on large, rude foundation stones. They were parallel to each other, 4½ feet distant. Dr. Whitaker then argues that upon the known proportions of Doric architecture, the distance of the column from the *anta* should give the same distance from column to column. He supposes the inscription found to have been on the tympanum, and measuring from that spot to the corner *anta*, he would give the length of the temple as 112 feet, with sixteen columns in front. He says there had evidently been a complete peristyle, and adds that—

> at a distance of 45 feet westward in the churchyard, a line of mortar and rubbish, uniformly turned up in digging, ascertains the corresponding side of the temple, somewhat more than an oblong. A statue of a lion, which had evidently been carved for some architectural purpose, as one side was left rude and unfinished, had probably decorated this corner of the temple, since it was found within a few yards of the place. It is now in my possession.*

The base of the column he describes as being of rude workmanship, less than 3 feet high and 27 inches in diameter. The circle of its base moulding had not been struck by the compass. One diameter exceeded the other by three-fourths of an inch. From the mouldings it clearly appeared that the two bases, then lying in the village, had belonged to the same edifice. What became of this base is not clear, but there are two others still preserved in the Rectory garden, which agree fairly with that named by Dr. Whitaker. Of one of these a representation is annexed.



Height, 2 feet 2 inches.

The diameter of the base is 32⅝ inches, and of the remaining portion of the shaft 13¾ inches.† These pillars appear to have belonged to an edifice of the Doric style. The Rev. S. J. Allen, formerly of Salesbury, writes thus to Mr. Just‡ :—

> You will doubtless have heard on the spot, that to the south-west of the chancel, about midway between the chancel and the churchyard wall, five steps were discovered, at the same time as this altar ; (that found in 1833) each four feet in length, one foot four inches in width, and four inches in depth. The altar was discovered about twelve yards westward from the spot where the remains of the temple were excavated in 1813, surrounded by the appearances of burning soot, &c., which have usually attended such disclosures at Ribchester. Near one of the stiles to the church-

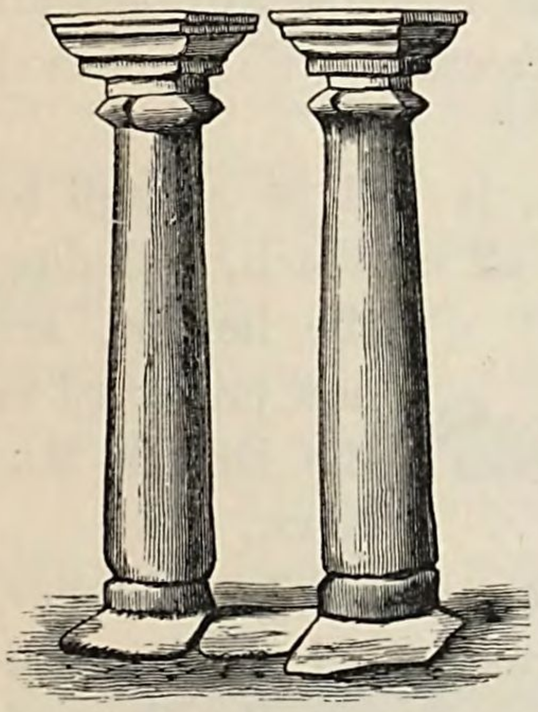
* Where it is now preserved is unknown.

† The other is slightly smaller in its dimensions.

‡ Journal of the *British Archæological Association*, vol. vi., p. 246.

yard (I think to the east) is a stone resembling a low-backed seat, two feet and a half in height, one foot ten in breadth at the front, and one foot five at the sides, which is said to have been found near the pillar of the temple in 1813; perhaps it may be the corner *anta*, described by Dr. Whitaker, *Hist. Whalley*, p. 19.

This stone appears since to have been removed, but Mr. Allen had also in his possession "a portion of a cylindrical column with a capital, and remains of foliage, having a rude resemblance to the Corinthian style," which he found in a cottage at Salesbury, and he remembered seeing a similar one at Salesbury Hall. From this it would seem that a large building, in the Corinthian style, had existed. The capital in Mr. Allen's possession was removed, many years ago, to the residence of T. H. Whitaker, Esq., "The Holme," near Burnley, where, in a much weathered state, it was lately preserved. Mr. Allen had also in his possession a stone which, from its mouldings, he believed had been a portion of a building. The figure of a *patera* was faintly traceable upon it, and, like the capital, it was taken to "The Holme."



Height, 6 feet 7 inches

There are four small pillars, said to have been taken out of the Ribble, (but this is, I think, doubtful) which now form the entrance to the inn called the "White Bull." Of two of these I give a representation herewith. They are 12 inches in diameter at the centre of the shaft, and appear also to be of a debased Doric style. They would belong to a much smaller building than that described by Dr. Whitaker.

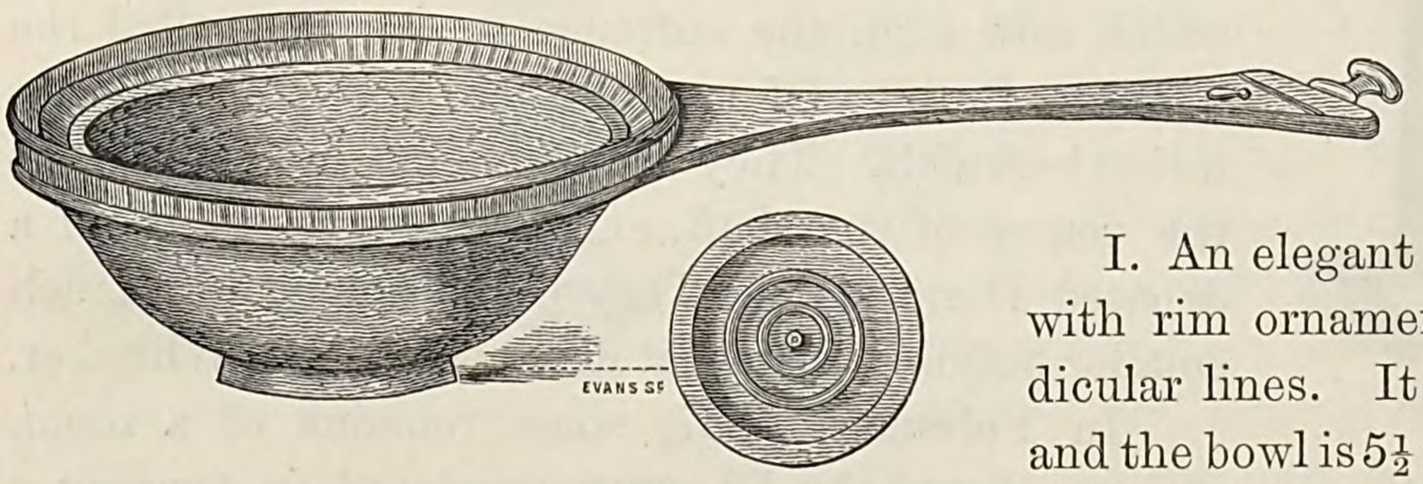
In February, 1837, some remains of a room, furnished with a hypocaust, were found by labourers employed in forming a hotbed, in the garden of Mr. Patchett, surgeon, situated in the extreme northern angle of the station. The ground floor was roughly paved, and over it, supported by rude stone pillars only a foot in height, was a layer of fine cement, three feet in thickness, the upper surface of which was laid with flags and tiles. Most of the latter, and some of the pillars, were taken away, and the floor covered up, though it has since been occasionally laid bare; but most of the flags, pillars, &c., have been built up in recent erections connected with the house and in an adjoining pig-stye. The room may possibly have been a bath, heated by the hypocaust; it was 30 feet by 15, and the walls were three feet in thickness. A portion of a leaden pipe, some illegible coins, and fragments of glass were found in it.

The most interesting discovery at Ribchester, in an artistic point of view, took place in the summer of 1796. It was made by a boy, thirteen years of age, (the son of Joseph Walton, a labourer,) who was at play "in a hollow that had been made in the waste land, at the side of the road leading to the church, and near the bend of the river," within the area of the temple subsequently excavated by Dr. Whitaker. The boy, when in this hollow, "rubbed accidentally" upon a helmet,

at a depth of about nine feet from the surface of the ground. When the helmet was extracted, the other articles were found with it, deposited in a heap of red sand, which formed a cube of three feet. As no stratum of that or of any other kind of sand appeared in this ground, it is probable that when these remains were placed there, the sand was thrown amongst them to preserve them in a dry state, and from rust; but they are in general much defaced by the corrosive effect of sand upon copper, and the moisture of the ground in which they lay.*

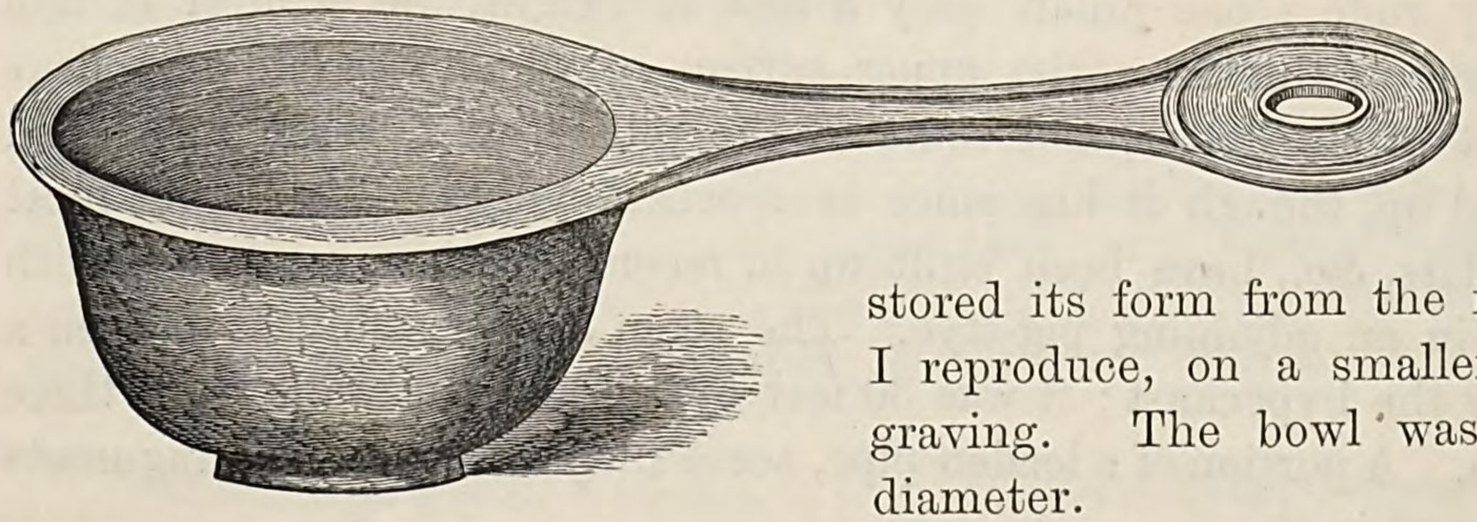
Such at least were the particulars of the discovery as described by Joseph Walton, on the 8th of December, 1797, to Mr. Charles Townley, who purchased the antiquities from him.

Before entering upon a description of the helmet, it will be as well to enumerate the other articles embraced in the "find," all of which, including the helmet, are now preserved in the British Museum.



I. An elegant *patella* of bronze, with rim ornamented with perpendicular lines. It is well preserved, and the bowl is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The annexed sketch represents it.

II. A similar *patella*, of which only the rim and handle remained perfect; the greater part of the bowl had decayed. Dr. Whitaker restored its form from the fragments,† and I reproduce, on a smaller scale, his engraving. The bowl was $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.



* *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iv., p. 1.

† *Hist. of Whalley*, pl. 2.

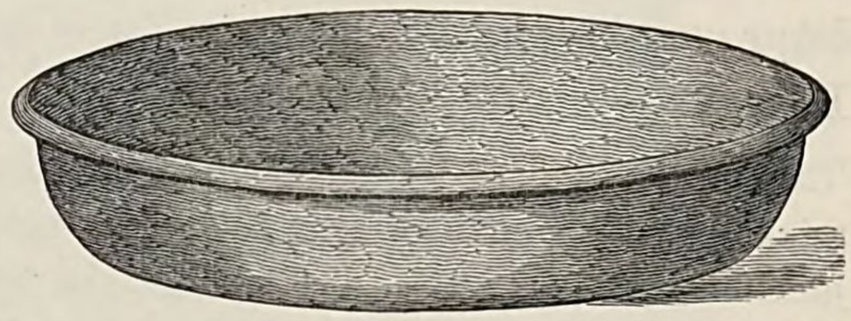
III. The rim and handle of another bronze *patella*, of which the bowl, 6½ inches in diameter, had totally decayed.

IV. "The remains of a bronze vase, being the bottom and parts of its sides. It appears to have been about ten inches in diameter and fifteen in height, was highly finished, the polish still remaining in the inside, and the metal has a hue of silver, similar to that of which the ancient mirrors were made."* From the fragments, Dr. Whitaker has engraved a restoration of this vase, which, however, does not appear to me to be correct. The fragments are, I think, too decayed to give an exact restoration of the shape.

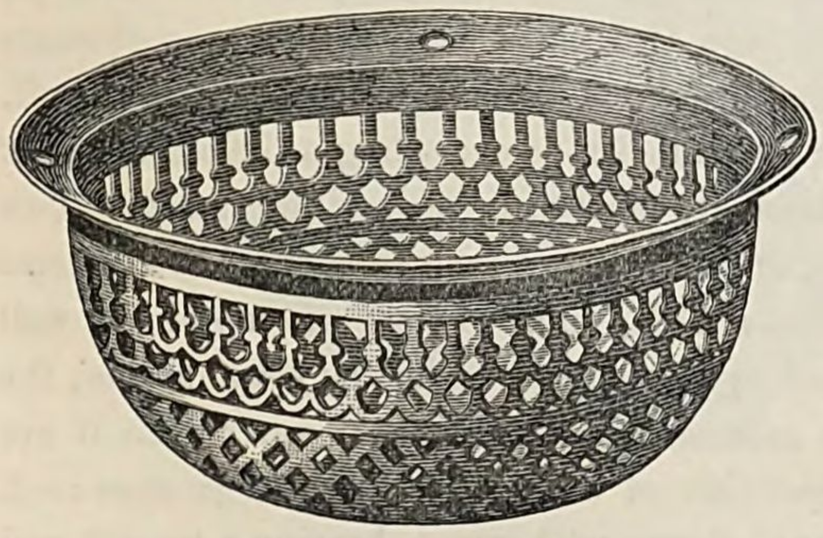


V. A rather rude bronze bust of Minerva, with the Gorgon's head upon her breast, fastened to a circular disc, 3¼ inches in diameter. Remains of the fastenings are on the back. A similar object is engraved in the *Recueil d'Antiquités* of Count Caylus.†

VI. Portions of a bronze basin, which, when entire, has been of the annexed form. It was twelve inches in diameter and three inches deep.



VII. A bronze colander, of very elaborate design, 6 inches in diameter, and 3½ inches deep. It is very well preserved; and portions of two others, exactly similar, were found with it.‡



There were also found four circular plates of bronze, 4 inches in diameter, with a moulding at the border, slightly hollowed; three similar plates, only 1½ inches in diameter, with the addition of a hinge and remains of a tongue, from which it was thought they might be a sort of fibulæ; four thin circular flat plates, 4 inches in diameter; a fragment, "composed of a circular plate, with a border, near four inches in diameter, to which had been attached by hinges in

* *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iv., p. 2. † Vol. i., pl. 71.

‡ This colander, the bust of Minerva, and some of the circular plates, are engraved in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iv., plate 4, also in *History of Whalley*, plate 1.

opposite directions; four circular buckles, nearly of the before-mentioned dimension, one of which only remains. The whole appears to have been enriched with carved work and gilt." Also, "two pieces of ornament, seemingly parts of the stem of a candelabra, filled with lead." All the above were of bronze; but there was also found a *mortarium* (hereafter to be noticed), the tusk of a boar, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, a piece of leather with perforations in regular lines, as if made by nails, and a piece of wood, 10 inches long, with a mortise.

The helmet, which is a very elaborate and beautiful work of art, consists of two parts, the face or mask, which resembles a vizor, and the rear portion for covering the skull. These parts fit each other exactly, and were fastened by rings and studs, some of which still remain. The mask exactly imitates the human features, which are of a remarkably effeminate type, as will be seen from the engraving. Whether they are intended to represent any specific deity or exalted personage cannot be said with certainty, though Mr. Townley, in his description of the helmet,* advocates the idea that the goddess Isis is intended to be represented. As his description of this relic can hardly be improved upon, I here reproduce it, though by no means sharing his views. He says—

The superior style of workmanship of the mask to that of the head-piece is also remarkable. [He thinks it was made some ages before the head-piece.] It measures ten inches and a half from its junction to the scull piece at the top of the forehead to its bottom under the chin. A row of small detached locks of hair surrounds the forehead a little above the eyes, reaching to the ears, which are well delineated. Upon these locks of hair rests the bottom of a diadem or *tutulus*, which, at the centre in the front, is two inches and a quarter in height, diminishing at the extremities to one inch, and an eighth of an inch, and it is divided horizontally into two parts bearing the proportionate heights just mentioned. The lower part projects before the higher, and represents a bastion wall, separated into seven divisions by projecting turrets, with pyramidal tops exceeding a little the height of the wall. Three apertures for missile weapons of defence are marked in each of the turrets. Two arched doors appear in the middle division of this wall, and one arched door in each of the extreme divisions. The upper part of the diadem, which recedes a little, so as to clear the top of the wall and of the turrets, was ornamented with seven embossed figures placed under the seven arches, the abutments of which are heads of genii. The central arch and the figure that was within it are destroyed, but the other six arches are filled with a repetition of the following three groupes:—A Venus, sitting upon a marine monster; before her a draped figure with wings, bearing a wreath and palm branch, and behind her a triton, whose lower parts terminate in tails of fish. Two serpents are represented on each side of the face near the ears, from whence the bodies of these reptiles surround each cheek, and are joined under the chin. From the general form of this diadem being usually appropriated to female deities, and the circumstance of the lower division being composed of

* *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iv., p. 5.



ROMAN BRONZE HELMET, FOUND AT RIBCHESTER.

a wall and turrets, in the same manner as the heads of Isis, Cybele, and the Ephesian Diana are decorated, added to the effeminacy and delicacy of the features of the mask, we may conclude that it alludes to those goddesses; but the manner in which the face is accompanied with serpents, strongly indicates that it also comprises the character of Medusa. The union of various characters recalls the pantheic representations of the goddess Isis, who, according to Aupuleius and other ancient authors, comprehends all the female deities, these deities being only personifications of the various powers and qualities attributed to Isis. When the accompaniments of this mask are attentively considered, I am persuaded they will be found to represent this goddess in her generating, preserving, and destroying capacities, which primitively constituted her universal dominion, and characterised her as the *Dea Triformis*.

The skull part of the helmet is ornamented with six horse-soldiers and eleven on foot, all armed, and in fighting attitudes. Comparing Whitaker's representations* of this relic with the original in the British Museum, I found them to be very exact, so that I have ventured to reproduce them here.†



The Rev. T. D. (afterwards Dr.) Whitaker, in a letter to Mr. Townley, states,‡ that he saw the whole of these remains in the summer of 1796

* *History of Whalley*, pl. 1.

† Engravings of this helmet, on a very large scale, are given in vol. iv., pl. 1, 2 and 3, of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, and in Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire* (1836), vol. i., p. 20.

‡ *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iv., p. 12.

(soon after their discovery), with the addition of "a sphinx, of bronze, which, from the remains of solder on the lower side, and also from its curvature, appeared to have been attached to some convex surface, probably to the top of the helmet." He then describes the loss of this sphinx by the children of Laurence Walton (a brother of Joseph Walton), to whom it had been given to play with. The suggestion that the sphinx was attached to the top of the helmet is not at all improbable. As it is evident that the helmet, from its delicate and fragile nature, could not have been made for active warfare, the question arises, for what was it used? We are as yet in the dark on the subject, though my own idea is that it was used processionally. Very few such elaborately-embossed helmets have been found within the limits of the Roman empire. In 1878 there was published, at Vienna, a work entitled *Antike Gesichtshelme und Sepulcral-Masken*, by Otto Bendorff (4to.), in which all the known examples of ancient masks in the museums of Europe are embraced, amongst them (plates 4, 5, and 6) the Ribchester example.

The finger of a copper (or bronze) statue, seen by Dr. Leigh, is rudely engraved by him,* and is further evidence that the station did not lack artistic ornaments. The finger appears to be about life size. In the same plate (fig. 1), Dr. Leigh also engraves the ruby he mentions as bearing upon it a figure of Mars (reproduced in the annexed woodcut), but I am very doubtful as to the figure representing that deity, and the gem being lost, we, unfortunately, cannot verify the correctness of the drawing.



Pennant also notices this ruby,† and then says:

> A ring, far more curious, was lately seen by Mr. Aspinal in possession of a poor man, who picked it up near the river. The metal was of gold, the stone a cornelian, with a bird engraven, and this tender motto, *Ave mea vita.* The interpretation of Mr. Aspinal is ingenious and just. He imagines the ring to have been a present from a lover to his mistress. The bird is a raven, whom he is invoking, as Horace did the same bird, in order to have a favourable augury in behalf of his beloved Galatea.

The ring subsequently came into the possession of Dr. Whitaker, who describes it‡ as "a gold ring, found here some years since, set with a cornelian of many faces, with a dove in the centre," &c. From Dr. Whitaker, the ring has descended to his grand-daughter, Mrs. Guthrie, of Trewyn, near Abergavenny, to whom, and her daughter, Mrs. Gillespie, I am indebted for several

* Book 3, pl. 1, fig. 18.

† *Tour from Downing to Alston*, p. 95.

‡ *Hist. of Whalley* (3rd edit.), p. 27.

carefully-executed drawings of it. From these the annexed woodcuts have been prepared.





AVE . MEA . VITA.

"Hail my life."

No. 1. (Both actual size.) No. 2.

No. 1 shews the face of the ring; No. 2, the profile. The stone is red cornelian, with a white layer above. The letters are white, on the red ground, very slightly raised. The bird is red, on the white ground, very slightly sunk—not enough for a seal. The bird, which seems to be a dove, holds something in its beak, which is rather difficult to make out. It is probably an olive branch, as there are three little red dots detached from the beak. The stone is sexagonal, each end division containing an A, and the four larger divisions each two letters. The ornaments supporting the face seem to be intended for serpents. It has been suggested that this ring is not Roman, but mediæval. I however see no reason for doubting its Roman origin. Though I cannot affirm that any Roman ring of *exactly* similar form has been found, there are many approaching very closely to it.

A small gold cup, with handles, is said to have been found at the back of the "White Bull,"* but what has become of it is not known. According to Dr. Whitaker—

> Tradition also records a singular discovery at Ribchester, viz., the skull of an ox, covered with some remains of leather and studded with gold. It is very possible that such a preparation might have been used for some sacrificial purpose, and it was an idea not likely to occur to an inventor.†

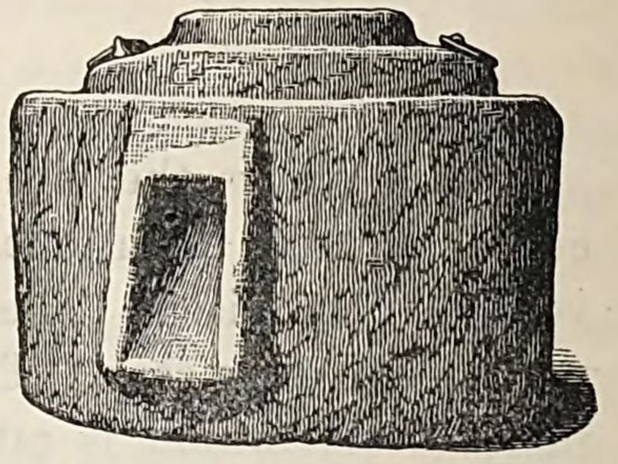
With the altar discovered in 1833 were found "a small *fibula* and ring of brass, a *bulla*, apparently inscribed with some characters, but now illegible,"‡ and three coins. Mr. Abram§ states that this *bulla* passed into the possession of the Marquis de Rothwell with the altar, but I could not find either it or the *fibula* at Sharples Hall. The finger ring however (a plain bronze one) was there.

A handsome bronze *fibula*, well preserved, was found in March, 1834,‖ on the opposite side of the river, at Harwood Fold, Clayton-le-Dale, which was some years ago in the possession of J. Eccles, Esq., of Leyland, but appears

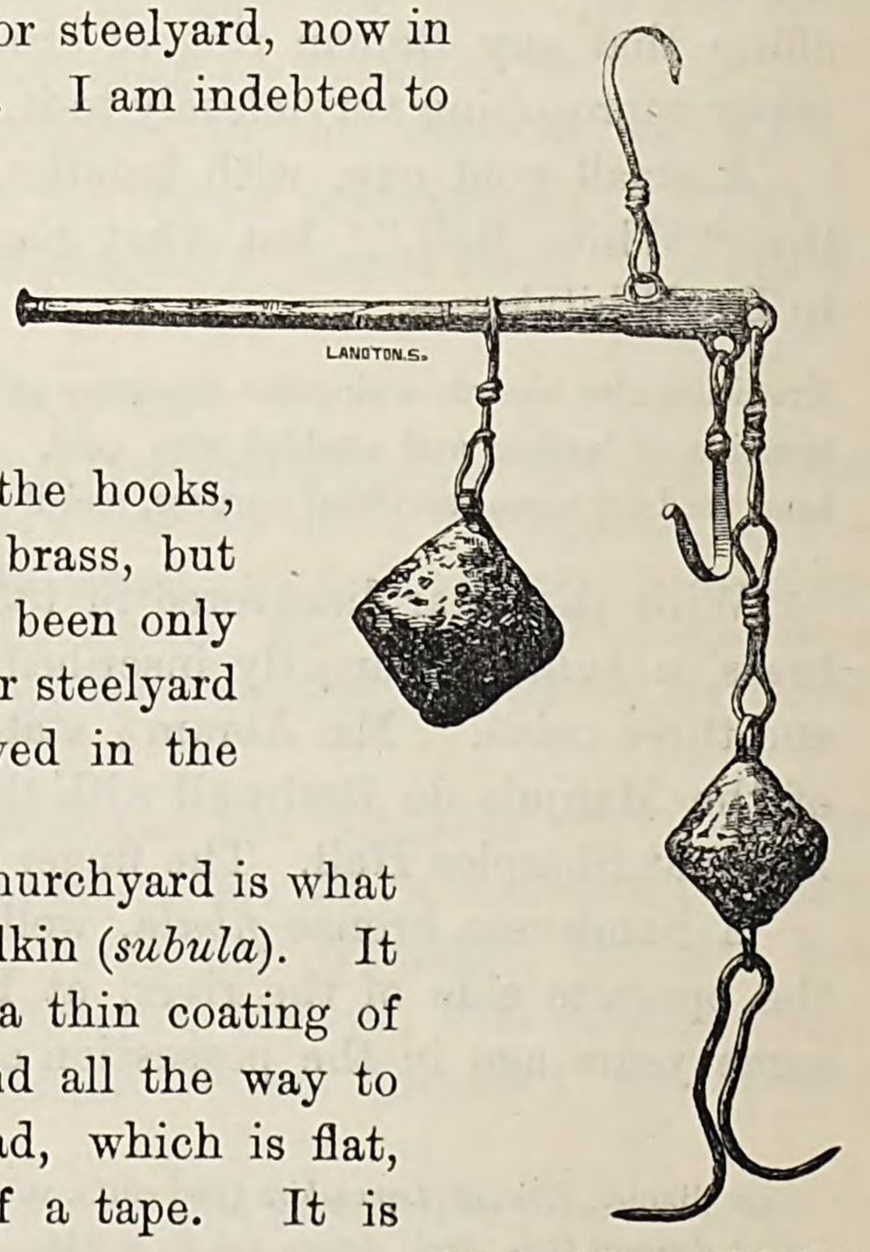
* Baines, *Hist. of Lancashire* (2nd edit.), vol. 2, p. 106.
† *Hist. of Richmondshire*, ii., p. 462.
‡ *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. 6., p. 244.
§ *Hist. of Blackburn*, p. 18.
‖ *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. 6, p. 246.

now to be mislaid. I am not aware of its shape, but, from all accounts, it appears to have been one of the bow *fibulae.*

As at most other Roman stations, a number of querns, or hand-mills, for grinding corn, have at various times been found. A very fine one has been removed to Tabley Old Hall, where it is now preserved by Lord de Tabley. It is represented in the annexed woodcut, taken from a photograph. The orifice from which the flour or meal ran out is plainly shewn. The iron rings let into the upper stone are a modern addition. The quern is about 15 inches in diameter.



A few years since, the churchyard was considerably extended to the westward, and, no doubt, as the new portion becomes utilised, further relics will be brought to light, the Roman level being invariably come upon when digging new graves at a depth of about 3½ feet, marked by a stratum of burnt and charred wood, and fragments of pottery. In digging a new grave, in 1874, the sexton found in the layer of burnt wood a very perfect Roman *statera*, or steelyard, now in the possession of the Marquis de Rothwell. I am indebted to Mr. Thomas Parkinson, of Bolton, for a photograph of this relic (taken by permission of the Marquis de Rothwell), from which the annexed woodcut has been made. The lever, (which is graduated, and marked with numerals,) the hooks, and chains, are of bronze, or Corinthian brass, but the weights are of lead. It has evidently been only for weighing small articles. A very similar steelyard was found at Cirencester, and is engraved in the *Archæological Journal.**



Length of Beam, 6⅞ inches.

Another object recently found in the churchyard is what may have been either a *stylus* or a bodkin (*subula*). It appears to be of copper or bronze, with a thin coating of gold, and is four inches in length, round all the way to the point, with the exception of the head, which is flat, with an orifice, as if for the insertion of a tape. It is

* Vol. vii., p. 411.

now in the possession of the Rev. J. E. Perrin, at the Rectory, and is herewith represented.



The tunnel or sewer named by Drs. Leigh and Stukeley is no longer visible; not that it has been entirely destroyed, as it was probably one of the main *cloacae* of the station, but its present termination is no doubt blocked up by a fall of soil from the ground above it. Such sewers have been found on many Britanno-Roman sites, especially Lincoln, Bath, and Colchester. Some of them are large enough for a man to walk upright in. Those at Bath are still utilised.

As to the so-called nautical remains at Anchor Hill, Dr. Whitaker is probably correct when he says that they prove nothing more than the existence of a ferry.

It is remarkable that Horsley is very silent as to this station. He treats of the inscriptions, but says little else except, "Besides these, a great number of other Roman antiquities have been found here, as coins, vases of several sorts, with some imperfect words or letters upon them," &c.*

The cemeteries of the station do not yet appear to have been recognised, though a recent discovery would lead us to infer that one of them was situated about two hundred yards further up the river, perhaps on what is now both banks. No discoveries of cinerary urns, &c., seem to be recorded. The first mention we have of the discovery of a tombstone is by Camden,† who says—

Here was also lately dug up a stone, with the portraiture of a naked man on horseback, without saddle or bridle, brandishing his spear with both hands, and insulting over a naked man prostrate, who defends himself with something in the form of a square. Between the horse and the person prostrate stand the letters

D . M .

Under the prostrate person are

GAL . SARMATA.

The other letters (for there were many more) are so defaced that they cannot be read, and I shall not venture to guess at them.

A very similar description of this stone is given in a letter from Thomas Braithwaite, dated "Lancaster, 16th January, 1604,"‡ who adds the further particulars, that the prostrate man had his face upwards, and held his right hand

* *Brit. Romana*, p. 302.

† 6th edition (1607), p. 615.

‡ Cottonian MSS. Julius. F. vi., f. 287.

up, also that the horse had his near forefoot on the same man's head. The "square," which he held in his left hand, resembled "a book shut."

As this is the first tombstone noticed in this work, it may be well to say that D.M. is the usual, though not invariable, commencement of the inscriptions on Roman tombstones. These letters stand for *D(iis)* (or *Dis*) *M(anibus)*, and mean, "To the gods, the shades." So general is the use of this phrase, that the celebrated Joseph Scaliger speaks of Roman epigraphy as the "*Dis Manibus* science." The letters stated by Camden and Braithwaite to be GAL . SARMATA are certainly copied incorrectly. They have either been (E)Q. AL. SARMATA., or (DE)C. AL. SARMATA. (probably the latter), and refer to the position held by the deceased in the *Ala*. In the first case, he would be an EQ(VES), or ordinary horseman; in the second, a DEC(VRIO). The "square" held by the prostrate man was a shield. This stone has long been lost.



Height, 5 feet; breadth, 2½ feet.

On the 8th of April, 1876, another similar tombstone was taken by the late Mr. P. Wearden out of the bed of the Ribble, about two hundred yards above the *castrum*, and on the opposite bank, out of which it had apparently been washed by a flood. It, however, bore no inscription. The stone

was first described in the *Preston Guardian*,* by Mr. W. A. Abram, and subsequently engraved in the same gentleman's *History of Blackburn.*† It is one of a well-known class, and represents a horse-soldier (probably of the *Ala Sarmatarum*) spearing a prostrate foe. Through the courtesy of Mr. Abram, I am able to reproduce the engraving of it, which appears on the previous page. Though somewhat rude, and out of proportion, the sculpture is not without spirit. The horse is too small for the rider, and the head of the latter too large for his body. In this instance, the saddle and bridle are not absent, both being well defined, as are also the reins and other trappings. The spear is also held in one hand only, and the rider, instead of being naked, wears a short tunic, and a cloak fastened over the breast by a circular *fibula.*‡ On his left arm is a shield, of apparently oval shape, and a short sword or dagger is suspended at his right side. He is represented as bareheaded. The prostrate figure is also much out of proportion. As far as can be judged, he appears to be naked, and the shield which he holds, instead of being square, is oval. As usual, in sculptures of this nature, his head is represented as beneath one of the hoofs of the horse.

Two similar tombstones have been found at Bath, two at Cirencester, several at Kirkby Thore (*Galava*), one at Wootton (the burial place of Roman Gloucester), one at Wroxeter, one at Chesters (*Cilurnum*), and, lastly, a very fine one in 1881 at Hexham, but nearly all of these are inscribed.

After various attempts on the part of several museums to obtain it, the Ribchester slab was eventually secured by purchase for the Blackburn Museum, where it is now deposited.

The only other tombstone recorded as found at Ribchester is of a different type. It is given by Camden,§ and anonymously in the Cottonian MSS.‖ (the writer in this case probably being Braithwaite); but the two readings vary slightly. Braithwaite's, which is here given, seems the most correct. It is, divested of ligatures, as follows:—

* April 22nd, 1876.

† Mr. Abram also communicated an account of this stone, with an engraving, to the *Proc. Soc. of Antiquaries*, vol. vii. (2nd series,) p. 30; and to vol. xxviii. of the *Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Chesh.*

‡ The Sarmatian cavalry were allies of Decebalus, the Dacian king, subdued by Trajan, and are described by Ammianus Marcellinus as at that time being clad in armour formed of thin circular plates, adapted to the movements of the body, and drawn all over the limbs. Their horses wore similar armour, and they are thus represented on the column of Trajan at Rome. The absence of this armour seems singular in the Ribchester sculptures, one of which, at least, (the lost one,) represents a soldier of this corps.

§ Edit. vi. (1607), p. 616. He says he obtained the copy from the papers of William Lambarde.

‖ Julius F. X., f. 138.

HIS TERRIS TEGITVR	*His terris tegitur*
AEL. MATRONA QVOND	*Ael(ia) Matrona Quond(am)*
VIX. AN. XXVIII. M. II. D. VIII.	*Vix(it) an(nos) xxviii. Men(ses) ii. D(ies) viii.*
ET. M. IVL. MAXIMVS. FIL.	*Et M(arcus) Jul(ius) Maximus Fil(ius)*
VIX. AN. VI. M. III. D. XX. ET. CAM	*Vix(it) an(nos) vi. M(enses) iii. D(ies) xx. et Campa*
PANIA. DVBITATAE MATER	*nia Dubitata mater*
VIX. AN. L. IVL. MAXIMVS	*Vix(it) an(nos) L. Jul(ius) Maximus*
S. C. ALAE SAR. CONIVX	*S(ingularis) c(onsularis) Alae Sar(matarum) conjux*
CONIVGI INCOMPARABILI	*Conjugi incomparabili*
ET FILIO PATRI PIENTIS	*Et filio patri pientissimo*
SIMO ET SOCAERE TENA	*Et socaere tenacissime*
CISSIME MEMORIA P.	*Memoria(e) p(osuit)*

i.e., "In this earth is held (that which) at one time (was) Aelia Matrona, she lived twenty-eight years, two months, and eight days, and Marcus Julius Maximus (her) son, he lived six years, three months, and twenty days, and Campania Dubitata (her) mother, she lived fifty years. Julius Maximus, a *singularis consularis* of the *Ala Sarmatarum*, (the) husband, to an incomparable wife, and to a son most dutiful to (his) father, and to a mother-in-law of very dear memory, has placed (this)."

Camden gives QV— at the end of the first line. Had QVAE been there, it would have simplified the reading. The E at the end of DVBITATAE has probably been added by the copyist: it is certainly wrong. *Socaere* is a corruption of *Socrae*. Dr. Hübner detaches *Memoria* from *Tenacissime*, and prefers to read "*Memoriam posuit*."

The last relic of any importance was discovered at the station whilst this work was in progress. In the spring of 1882, Mr. D. Geddes, of Blackburn, found in the bed of the Ribble, about 400 yards above the station, a large slab, which had borne an inscription. In a letter to the writer, he says—

> I cut off the part containing the letters from a stone of much larger dimensions. I do not think it has anything to do with the other stone which we have here (the tombstone found in 1876), it was such a large piece of stone by itself. I also saw near the same place a fragment of the upper part of a hand-mill.

To Mr. Geddes I am indebted for a photograph of the stone, from which the subjoined woodcut has been prepared.



Height, 1 foot; Breadth, 32 inches.

. . . . N . . A . . . . . .

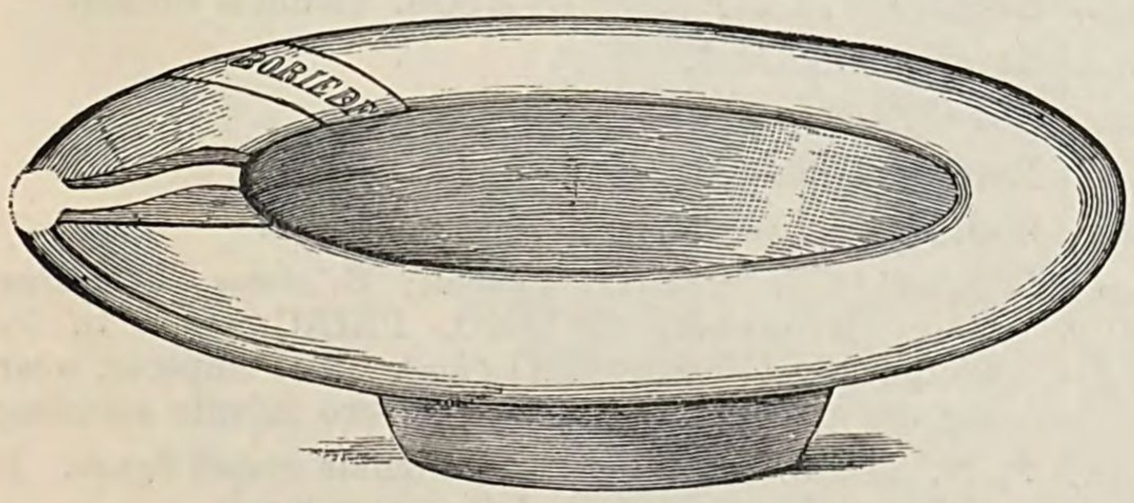
. . . . CVRAMIIC . . . .

. . . . . SDIICF . IVS

. . . . . .

As will be seen from the engraving, the inscription has been cut in a sunken panel, and what remains is only a portion of its termination. The last line is entirely obliterated, but portions of the preceding three lines remain. In the second line we have either CVRAM or CVRA . M. I at one time thought the stone was a dedicatory tablet, and that the name of an Imperial Legate had been on it, taking the second and third lines as (SVB) CVRA . M . LIC(INII) . . . . . LEG EIVS. But the letters are so rudely cut, and the IIC, which I thought might have been LEG, is so doubtful, that I have abandoned the idea, and am now inclined to think the stone has been sepulchral. If the letter following M, in the second line, had been A, it would have been almost certain that we had the words CVRAM . AG(ENTE), but instead of A we have II. It is probable that the last word visible on the stone is FILIVS, but there is a serious flaw before the IVS, where the face of the stone has been broken off. This fragment is still in Mr. Geddes' possession.

The potters' marks of which a record has been kept are few in number. Two handles of *amphorae* were preserved at the Rectory a few years ago, marked C. I. S., a stamp which occurs at Wilderspool. Two portions of vessels of "white earth," discovered by Dr. Whitaker in 1813, bore on their "curved edges" (AL)BINVS. and VAL. IX. They were no doubt *mortaria*.



Diameter, 13 inches; depth, 3 inches.

A *mortarium*, which was found with the helmet in 1796, bore the mark BORIED. OF., *i.e.*, *Boriedi Officina*. The engraving shows that, with the exception of a slight breakage near the spout, this *mortarium* is complete; no other example found in Lancashire being in such a perfect state.

W

On "Samian" ware, Dr. Leigh gives engravings (pl. i., figs. 12, 13, 14) of these stamps, FA . PRO., OF . VIEA., and vv vo ww. The last two are evidently erroneous. No doubt there were some ligulate letters. A fragment discovered in 1813, bore the mark MAXIMI. In excavations in 1850,

> in the angle between the river and the junction of the brook, a large quantity of Roman pottery was found, consisting of numerous fragments of Samian ware, chiefly of *paterae*, many marked with the potter's name; one ampulla with both handles perfect, and others broken; fragments of glass and of common pottery; nails; bones of animals, with which were tusks of boars and swine," &c.*

Where these are now preserved cannot be ascertained. A fragment of a very coarse whitish-yellow vessel, now preserved at the Rectory, bears the word (F)ECIT; and a similar fragment has an illegible potter's name.

The "top of the great two-handled amphora," mentioned by Stukeley, is now at "The Holme." It is 18 inches in height, and the diameter of the mouth is 6 inches.

Although a large quantity of coins have been found at the station, they have been so rapidly dispersed, that the number traceable is even less than at Manchester. Leland, Camden, Dr. Leigh, Stukeley, and Horsley all speak of the large number found, whilst Dr. Whitaker says,—"Besides inscriptions, the smaller antiquities discovered here are innumerable; the coins, of which many are found of the large brass kind, are generally so much corroded as to be scarcely legible. Denarii of the upper empire are not uncommon." Of those now traceable, or of which descriptions have been preserved, I subjoin a list:—

NERO.....	Gold	IVPPITER. CVSTOS. Jupiter (seated) to left, holding a thunderbolt and a sceptre.
VITELLIVS	Silver	Reverse obliterated.
VESPASIAN.....	1st brass	Mars, standing, with spear in right hand; a trophy in the left. S. C. *(Senatus Consulto.)*
VESPASIAN.....	1st brass	SPQR. OB. CIVES. SERVATOS. within a wreath.
VESPASIAN.....	Silver	Reverse obliterated.
TITVS	Silver	CONCORDIA. Female figure.
TITVS	Silver	Reverse obliterated.
DOMITIAN	1st brass	Seen by Dr. Stukeley. Reverse not given.
TRAJAN	Gold	CON*(suli)* V. P*(atri)* P*(opuli)* S*(enatus)* P*(opulus)* Q*(ue)* R*(omanus)* OPTIMO. PRINC*(ipi)*. In the exergue, ALIM*(enta)* ITAL*(iae)*. The emperor, wearing the *toga*, distributes food to two infants standing.
TRAJAN	Silver	P. M. TR. P. COS. II. P.P. Female seated figure. In right hand, a patera; in left, a cornucopia.

* *Journal Brit. Arch. Ass.*, vol. vi., p. 249.

HADRIAN	Debased silver ...	ROMVLO CONDITORI. Romulus with bare head marching to right, carrying a spear and a trophy.
FAVSTINA	Gold	Obverse, DIVA. FAVSTINA. Reverse, AETERNITAS. Eternity, standing to left, holding globe and sceptre.
MARCVS AVRELIVS	2nd brass	ABVNDANTIA. AVG. Abundance, standing, holding cornucopia.
SEVERVS.....	Silver	Reverse obliterated.
VALERIANVS	2nd brass	FELICITAS. AVG.
CRISPVS	3rd brass	VOT. X. (within a wreath,) ; around it, CAESARVM NOSTRORVM.
VALENS	Silver.....	VRBS. ROMA. Rome seated ; in the exergue, TRPS.

To this list of Emperors, Dr. Leigh adds Augustus, Nerva, Commodus, and Diocletian. He also gives (Book iii., pl. iii.) a plate of coins, ten in number, found at Ribchester and Lancaster, but without distinguishing the site. The coins are most rudely engraved, and it is impossible to identify them as belonging to any particular reign. Several illegible coins, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd brass, from Ribchester, are also in the possession of the Marquis de Rothwell.

The anonymous chorographer, Ravennas, seems to name Ribchester as *Bresnetenaci Veteranorum*. If the station had a garrison of veterans, it is highly probable that a number of *Tabulae honestae missionis* would be found there in past times, and thus further confirm my suggestion as to the origin of the rhyme mentioned by Camden.

Though not belonging to the period treated in this chapter, it can scarcely be considered out of place to introduce here an engraving of a very beautiful bronze boss, which was found at this station. It seems to be either Irish or Scandinavian work, and is now preserved in the Mayer Museum, Liverpool.



CHAPTER VI.

LANCASTER.

This is the only *large* station in the county of which we do not know the Roman name. Camden, Horsley, and Rauthmel considered it the *Longovicus* or *Longovicum* of the *Notitia*. Reynolds, in his *Iter Britanniarum*, suggests that it was the *Bremetonacum* of the Tenth Iter of Antoninus, in which suggestion the late Mr. Just agreed, at the same time thinking it the *Bremetennacum* of the *Notitia*. Stukeley and the Rev. J. Whitaker thought it the *Ad Alauna* of the forged Itinerary of Richard; the latter considering that *Ad Alauna* and *Longovicus* were the same place. That it may be *Longovicus* seems possible, though I cannot positively adopt this conclusion, especially as the site of the *Portus Setantiorum* is as yet undecided. A discovery of an inscription may at any moment give us further information.

We are ignorant even of the date of its erection, as well as of its shape and dimensions. Though coins of the earlier Emperors (Otho, Vespasian, Domitian, &c.) have been found, their evidence on the point of date is *nil*, as they were in circulation for centuries after they were struck. The strongest clue is furnished by a milestone of Hadrian, discovered three miles from the town, on the line of road connecting it with Overborough; and, in my opinion, this fact suggests the idea that the station was erected in the reign of that Emperor. With the single exception of a stone of the same reign, found at Leicester, this is the earliest milestone found in Britain. No legionary or other walling stones have as yet been found; and though tiles have occurred, made by a cavalry regiment (the ALA. SEBVSIANA, or SEBOSIANA), which was stationed in Britain so early as A.D. 103, (according to the Malpas *tabula* of the Emperor Trajan,) yet nothing has been found that will give us an exact or even an approximate date for the erection of the *castrum*. The latter, in fact, is not in the usual position of Roman stations, which were generally on comparatively low ground, at the junction of two rivers, but stands upon an isolated hill, with the Lone (or Lune) flowing at its base. It would seem to have been a British post, utilised by the Romans; and this idea gains confirmation by the occasional discovery of celts, flint arrow-heads, &c., upon

the site, and of British cinerary urns in the neighbourhood. The river, too, is only navigable up to the site of Lancaster, thus affording another reason for placing a station at this point. Owing to the erection of the Castle, Church, and Priory within the area of the *castrum*, the dimensions and shape of the latter are obliterated, except a small portion of the ramparts and fosse visible in the Vicarage fields. From the position of this, it is certain that the station has not been rectangular. Dr. Whitaker* calls it "an ellipsis, with a double wall and fosse surrounding the summit of the entire hill, so far beneath as to afford it no protection from the inclemency of northern blasts;" but there seems no authority for his assertion with regard to its shape. It was more probably a pentagon, but excavations only can determine the exact figure, which has no doubt been regulated by the shape of the hill and the outlines of a previous British post. The same thing occurs at Silchester, where the Roman wall forms an irregular octagon.

The foundations of the "Well Tower," on the eastern side of the Castle, which are thirty feet below the surface, *appear* to be Roman, but no pounded tile is now visible in the mortar. This tower is square, and contains a well. A tower at the south-west corner, circular in shape, bears the name of "Hadrian's Tower," but it is cased with modern masonry, so that its age cannot be determined. Possibly an inscription dedicated to Hadrian has at some time been found in it, and tradition has thus handed down the name. The circular shape is more in conformity with the Roman practice of tower building than the square one, though there are instances of the latter. A square tower on the south side of the castle, called the "Dungeon Tower," taken down in 1818, is said, by those who have been able to examine its foundations, also to be Roman, but proof of this is wanting.† In the castle itself, nothing Roman remains *above* ground. "When the workmen were sinking for the foundation of the great boundary wall on the north side of the castle, the groundwork of an ancient tower was discovered."‡ As to the exact spot, the shape of the tower, and whether it was of Roman workmanship, we are, however, left in ignorance. Another round tower, which stood upon the site of the present Grand Jury Room, was taken down. No investigation

* *Hist. of Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 211.

† The floor was formed of stones about two feet in length and six or eight inches square, set on end, and bound together with iron, thus forming a sort of pavement. The stonework rested on a bed of solid marl about three feet in thickness. Beneath the bed of marl, a number of horses' teeth have been discovered. The teeth, it may be added, are found very plentifully in other departments of the castle.—Simpson, *Hist. of Lancaster*, p. 214.

‡ Clarke, *Hist. of Lancaster*, p. 17 (2nd edit.)

as to the date of its erection seems to have been made. If all these towers were found to be of Roman origin, the attempt to ascertain the shape of the *castrum* would be very perplexing; but, in considering the walls, old writers have first to be referred to. That the station suffered more than others after the departure of the Romans, and from the attacks of Danes and Scots during the Saxon period, seems certain from its ruinous condition at the time of the Conquest. In *Domesday Survey*, there is a list of twenty-two vills (or villages) which belonged to the "manor" of Halton. They extended as far north as Carnforth, and embraced a large extent of country, being then owned by the Saxon earl Tosti. Among these are named "Loncastre," which had six carucates of land to be taxed, and "Chercaloncastre"* (apparently "Church by Lancaster,") which had two carucates. So that, instead of being a place of importance, Lancaster was then a mere village in the manor of Halton.

The Conqueror bestowed Earl Tosti's possessions upon Roger de Poictou, who, as we learn from Domesday, fixed upon Lancaster as the site of his baronial castle, which he immediately began to erect, and no doubt incorporated some of the Roman walls and towers into the building. At the same time he erected a priory, in the charter of which he says that "dedit Deo et Sancto Martino ecclesiam, Sanctae Mariae de Lanecastro cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus et partem terrae illius villae *a veteri muro*," &c. This shews that even at that early period the remains of the Roman fortress were called the "Old Wall."

What remained of the Roman walls would no doubt be still further demolished by the sieges which the castle underwent in the middle ages, especially those of 1199 and 1322, in which latter the town was burnt, so that when Leland visited the town in the reign of Henry VIII. he could recognise nothing but the mediæval castle. He says—

> The old waule of the circuite of the Priory cummith almost to Lune Bridge. Sum have thereby supposid that it was a Peace of a Waul of the Toune. But yndeade I espiy'd in no Place that the Toune was ever waullid. The old Toune (as they say ther) was almost al burnid and stoode partely beyound the Blak Freres. In thos Partes in the Feeldes and Fundations hath ben found moche Romayne Coyne. †

Camden says, in 1607, that the inhabitants called the town Loncaster, and the Scots, Loncastell, from the river Lon; he thought from this that it was *Longovicum*, but found the population of the town to consist of husbandmen—

* These names probably refer, as Dr. Whitaker conjectures, to the lower and upper portions of the town, respectively.

† Hearne's *Leland*, vol. v., p. 99.

Yet in proof of it's Roman antiquity, they sometimes meet with coins of the Emperors, especially where the Fryers had their cloister. For there (as they report) was the area of an ancient city, which the Scots (who, in a sudden inroad in 1322, destroy'd everything they met with) burnt to the ground. From that time they began to build nearer a green hill by the river; upon which stands a castle, not very great, nor ancient, but fair and strong, and on the very top of the hill, a church, the only one in the town. * * * * Below this near a very fine bridge over the Lone on the steepest part of the hill, there hangs a piece of a very ancient wall which is Roman: they call it *Wery Wall*, probably from the later British name of the town, who called it *Caer Werid*, that is a *green city*, in all likelyhood from the green hill, but I leave the further discovery of this to others.*

It is singular that both Leland and Camden mention that coins were found on the site of the Dominican (or Black) Friary. This is a considerable distance to the south-east of the *castrum*, and near to where interments have been found. The coins would either be from one of the cemeteries or from the ruins of suburban buildings. The name, *Caer Werid*, is a gratuitous assumption of Camden, and for which there is not the shadow of a foundation; but as succeeding writers, including Dr. Kuerden, Dr. Leigh, Simpson, and others have adopted his conclusion, it has by many been considered as a reality. Sorry I am to demolish the pleasing illusion, but in the interests of truth it is necessary. No such name exists in any ancient writing, and Camden is the sole authority for it. His own words prove that it was merely his conjecture, based upon the name of the "Wery Wall." This "Wery Wall" has played an important part in the various descriptions of Lancaster during the last 150 years. Dr. Stukeley (*Itin. Curiosum*, vol. ii., p. 38) says:—

I found a great piece of the wall, made of the white stone of the country, and very hard mortar and still very thick, though the facing on both sides has been peeled off for the sake of the square stones which they used in building. A year or two ago a great parcel of it was destroyed with much labour. This reached quite to the Bridge Lane and hung over the street at the head of the precipice in a dreadful manner: it went round the verge of the close north of the church, and took in the whole circuit of the hill, and the ditch on the north side of it is now to be seen. I suppose it enclosed the whole top of the hill where the church and castle stand.

Mr. West, in his *Guide to the Lakes*, published in 1799, says, at p. 17:—

On the north side of the hill below the churchyard are some remains of the wall that encompassed the station. It retains part of the ancient name of the place, being called Wery-wall. Those who suppose it to be that part of the priory inclosure wall, which was situated on the north side of the churchyard, may be satisfied it is not so by viewing the part of the inclosure wall yet standing, which is a thin mouldering fabric; whereas the Wery-wall is a cemented mass that nothing but great violence can injure. Another fragment of it, stands at the stile on the foot path under the west end

* Gibson's *Camden* (edit. 1722) p. 977

of the churchyard. [This was soon afterwards destroyed.] The father of the late William Bradshaw, Esq., of Halton, remembered the Wery-wall projecting over Bridge Lane and pointing directly to the river. * * * * At Bridge Lane this wall makes an angle, and runs along the brow of the hill behind the houses in a line to Church Street, which it crosses about Covell-cross. This is attested by the owners of the gardens, who have met with it in that direction, and always found blue clay under the foundation stones.

Mr. Clarke describes the "Wery Wall," in 1811,* thus :—

> This wall may yet be traced in the Vicarage Fields, the appearance of the wall there still proves that a double vallum once encircled the hill. A fragment of this wall is yet to be seen adjoining the garden of John Ford, Esq., part of which, about eight feet above the ground and six feet in thickness, sustains the north wall of his summer house adjoining the Vicarage Field, from which specimen it appears to have been an exceedingly strong cemented mass, capable of withstanding the rudest shock.

Although it is perfectly true that in places there *appears* to be a double vallum, I am more than doubtful if such is the case. Excavation would possibly shew that the appearance is due to the upper part of the wall having fallen from the vallum, *en masse* (as in the *castra* at Pevensey and Lymne†), and being now covered with a thick coating of soil.

The Rev. R. Simpson, writing in 1852, after mentioning this "double vallum," says :—

> Only a few years since, a portion of the wall which had surrounded it was visible in the path that leads from the church to the quay, and another part, under the north wall of the summer house in the garden of Mr. Willan, still exists. The portions which projected into Bridge Lane have been removed, but in a garden on the declivity of the hill to the north and behind houses leading to the quay, some slight remains of the wall may yet be seen. From these specimens it appears to have been a strongly cemented mass, six feet in thickness, bearing the precise character of the remains of the Roman castle at Manchester.‡

At the present time (1882) there is a fragment of the Roman wall, 10 feet 6 inches high, 8 feet 6 inches thick, and 9 feet long, which supports the southern boundary wall of the garden of Mr. Thos. Barton, on the southern side of the lower end of Bridge Lane. The fragment is only the core of the wall—the facing stones having disappeared. It is partly overgrown with ivy, and at its north-western extremity it narrows to 4 feet in breadth, by 5 feet 6 inches in height. Its existence is known to very few of even the inhabitants of Lancaster, no doubt through its position in private ground. Whether it had

* *Hist. of Lancaster*, (2nd edit.) p. 6.

† *Report on the Excavations at the Roman Castrum of Lymne*, by C. Roach Smith, pp. 5-6.

‡ *Hist. of Lancaster*, p. 124.

the usual bonding tiles cannot be judged, though excavation might reveal the fact. The mortar of the grouting is much worn at the surface, so that pounded tile is not recognisable—yet it may be there. The wall of which it forms part divides Mr. Barton's garden from the Vicarage fields. On the lower side the ground is almost precipitous. In dry weather the tracks of streets are visible in the Vicarage fields.

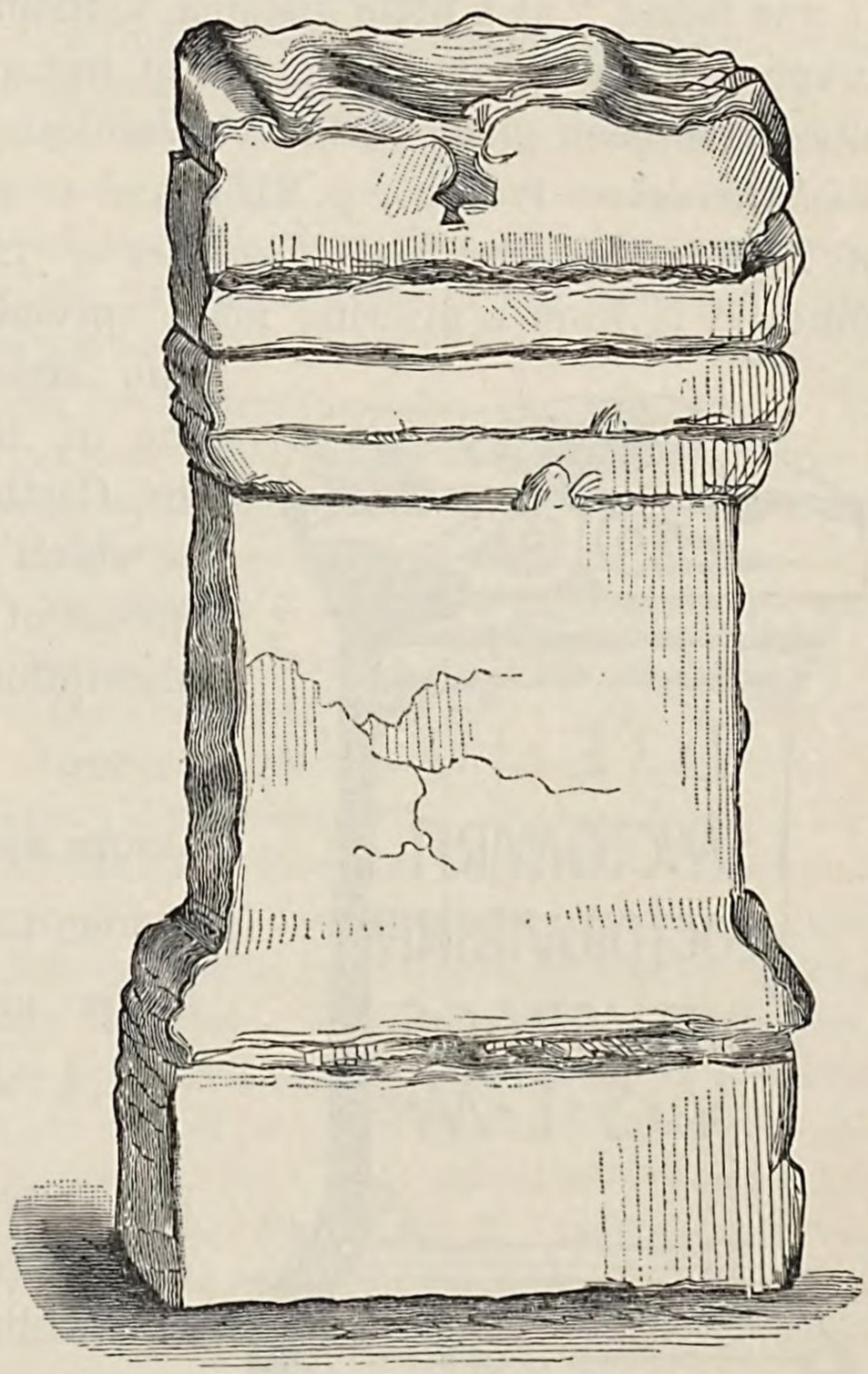
As the only bodies of troops named in the inscriptions found, are two cavalry regiments, and (as before said) large quantities of horse's teeth have been discovered, there is no doubt that Lancaster was a cavalry station. Another confirmation of the fact seems to be the erection of an altar by a decurion.

The discoveries *within* the area of the station have been much less than those in the surrounding neighbourhood. In a letter (now in my possession) from West to Whitaker, undated, but about A.D. 1775, it is said—

> Whenever there is occasion to sink to any depth something Roman is discovered, but the avarice .... of the .... proprietor prevents further search, and the want of zeal causes the remains to return again to oblivion, or to be converted to some wretched use. The latter was the case of an altar now lying in a garden behind the castle.

This is probably the altar mentioned by Clarke,* who says :—

> A Roman altar has also recently been found in the garden of John Ford, Esq., adjoining the Vicarage Fields, one side of which has the sacrificial knife carved thereon. It has probably had an inscription on it, but none is legible.



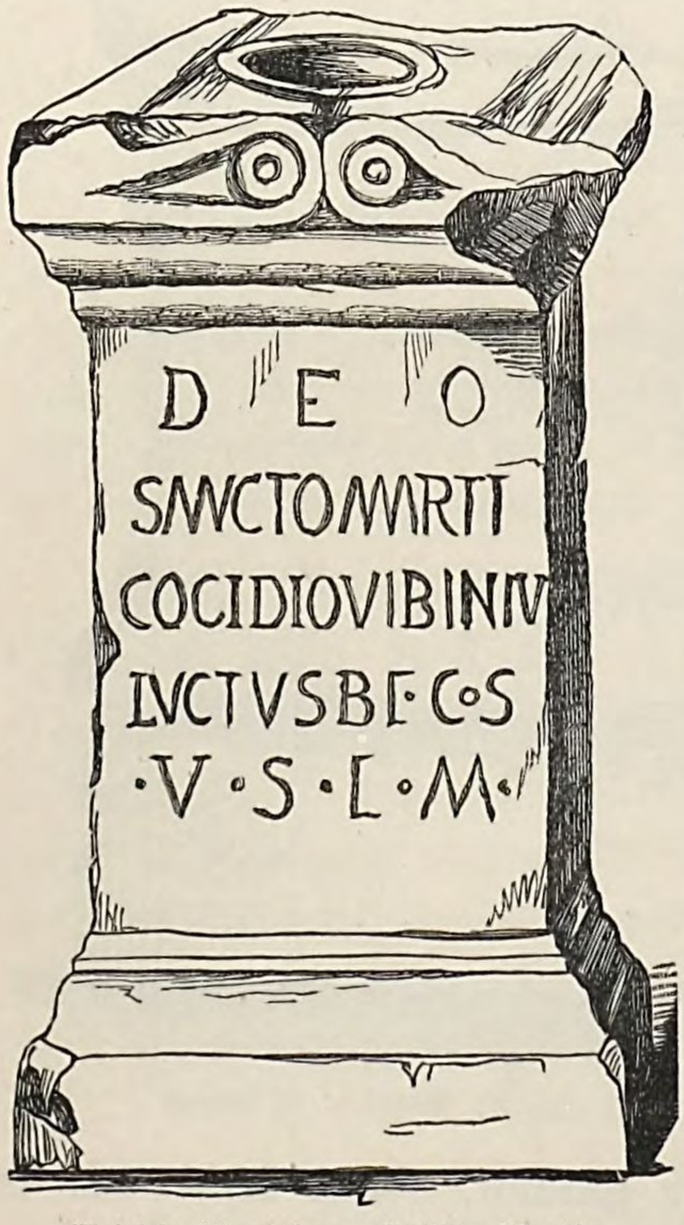
Height, 14⅞ inches; Breadth, 8¾ inches

I am indebted to Mr. J. Rawlinson Ford, of Leeds, and to Miss Ford, of Yealand Conyers, for further particulars as to the altar. Miss Ford remembers that it was found in the wall of the garden, about 1811. It is

* *Hist. of Lancaster*, (second edition,) p. 127. Appendix.

probable that subsequent to Whitaker's time it had been thus built up. It stood in Mr. Ford's garden from 1811 to 1817, when he removed to Yealand Conyers, and took it with him. The sacrificial knife on one side is remembered by several members of the family, but is now quite obliterated. This is accounted for by the fact that it remained out of doors until about 1841, and became much weather worn. It is now preserved by Miss Ford in the house at Yealand Conyers, and Miss E. Ford kindly contributed a drawing, which served as a model for the engraving on page 169. The usual focus for the offering remains. Mr. Clarke's description of it is repeated by Baines and Simpson.

In 1797 (Clarke says 1795), another altar was found, six feet below the surface, "in clearing away some earth for improving and enlarging the castle." It was found "at a little distance without the old wall, between Adrian's round tower and the great square one of Saxon architecture."* Engravings of this altar have been given in the *Archæologia* (vol. xiii.), in Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire* (vol. ii., p. 215), and as a frontispiece to the Lancashire volume of Britton and Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales.* The engraving annexed is from a drawing made specially by E. G. Paley, Esq., of Lancaster. The altar is now preserved at the head of one of the staircases in the Assize Court at the Castle. It was the first one discovered in which the name of Mars occurred with the epithet of *Cocidius.* The altar bore the following inscription :—



Height, 2ft. 2½in.; Width, 1ft. 4in.

DEO	*Deo*
SANCTO MARTI	*Sancto Marti*
COCIDIO VIBINIVS	*Cocidio, Vibinius*
LVCIVS . BF . COS	*Lucius B(ene)f(iciarius) Co(n)s(ulis)*
V . S . L . M .	*V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

i.e., "To the holy god Mars Cocidius, Vibinius Lucius, a pensioner of the Consul, performs his vow willingly to a deserving object."†

Cocidius is the name of a British god, whose attributes were most probably much the same as

* Rev. F. Lee, in *Archæologia*, vol. xiii., p. 401.

† See also Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire*, vol. iv. p. 487.

those of Mars. When first found, a small s was visible at the end of the third line (but is now obliterated), the last two letters being V s. Since then several others, similarly dedicated, have been found, chiefly in Cumberland, at Bewcastle, Walton Castlesteads, Tarraby, &c.

In vol. v. of the *Archæologia*, p. 98, there is an account of some antiquities found at Lancaster, in a letter from Mr. West, dated "Lancaster, February 1, 1776," read to the Society of Antiquaries, on the 9th of May, 1776, as follows :—

On sinking the cellars for a large house at the upper part of Church Street in this town, now building by Daniel Wilson, Esq., on the site of which stood some very old houses (formerly called the Judges' lodgings), was discovered, at about six feet below the present surface of the street, a supposed Roman burying place, as burnt wood, bones and ashes, broken pateræ, urns, Roman bricks, gutter tiles, coins, horns of animals, &c., were found; also, two fragments of thick walls, at about five yards distant from each other, in a direction from front to back, and seeming to continue under Church Street, betwixt which are several large stones, some of which were hewn. By this it may be conjectured to have been a vault to deposit the ashes of the dead, and fallen in, or pulled down at some time, as there were found, within the walls, several pieces of urns, an earthen sepulchral lamp entire (the end of the spout where the wick came out was burnt black), broken pateræ, burnt bones, ashes, a large human skull, Roman coins, &c.; also, at the north end, a well, filled with hewn stones, but not meddled with. There is a descent of about seventy or eighty yards from the back part of the house, to where it is thought the river *Lon* anciently ran, but now built upon. The ground on the said back part was levelled a great many yards, equal with the cellar floor; where also were found, from three to six feet deep according to the descent, burnt wood, bones, ashes, broken pateræ, urns, and other pieces of vessels of different shapes, Roman coins, boar's tusks, nails almost eaten with rust, pieces of lead, brass, &c. The stratum of ashes and bones was from a foot to about five feet thick. It no doubt runs quite under Church Street, if not farther, as in digging a drain on the opposite side of Church Street and to the westward of Mr. Wilson's house, at about six feet under the surface, was found the same sort of stratum of ashes, bones, pateræ, boar's tusks, a small brazen head like a dog's, which, by the appearance of the back part of it, has been fixed to something; the pedestal and feet part of a small image, thought to have been a *Lar*, with an inscription (it seems to be made of plaister of Paris or some such matter); pieces of glass of a blueish green colour, &c. One bottom of a patera found here had stamped on it CADGATEMA, perhaps the maker's name. These vessels are of a fine brown colour, far superior to the Staffordshire brown ware, elegantly varnished or glazed, some plain, others finely embossed with different sorts of figures, animals and birds. The urns are in form of different sorts of jars, of a coarse kind much like the oil jars, and some of a black colour as if burnt in the fire, some small, and some very large; but none entire, being broken into several small pieces. Some have large handles. Nothing Roman was found above the burnt strata of ashes, bones, &c., which it may be conjectured was the then surface of the ground, and where the funeral rites were performed; the burnt bones and ashes of the persons might be buried under this stratum, as they were found in that situation with the pieces of urns. The inscriptions on the coins were none of them perfect, except one of brass of Marcus Aurelius; and another small one of silver, a fine impression, and in high preservation, of Faustina his wife; on the head, DIVA FAVSTINA PIA; reverse, a monument with CONSECRATIO. The burying place is a

little to the eastward, and without the wall of the Roman fortification, where the garrison was kept, as there now remain several vestiges of the wall sufficient to evince that it has taken up great part of the hill where the church and castle stand, and part of the upper end of Church Street. About one hundred yards to the eastward of Mr. Wilson's new house on the opposite side of Church Street, on digging a cellar a few years ago for a new house, Mr. Henry Baynes's, were found several large hewn stones, and one about six feet under the surface supposed to be about three tons weight, of which several cellar steps were made, and about a ton weight still remains in its place, under which were found a great many Roman coins of Domitian, Vespasian, &c. ; it is thought to be the corner stone of a temple or some other public building. N.B.—There were found in Mr. Wilson's cellar, as also in the drain in Church Street, several stones thought to have been pieces of small hand mill stones, of about thirteen inches in diameter when whole, of a blueish gray colour, and exceeding hard ; they are about three inches thick at the outer edges, and not an inch in the middle.*

In his *Guide to the Lakes*, Mr. West says of the above, at p. 21, that the lamp which was found entire had a turned-up perforated handle by which to hang it, and much regrets that the well found was not explored.

From the foregoing description it would appear that the destruction of Roman Lancaster occurred (like that of many other Roman cities) by fire ; the layer of ashes covering such a considerable area, and nothing Roman having been found above it, seems conclusive on this point. Mr. West is right as to the layer of ashes lying on the former surface of the ground ; but the ashes are those of the superstructure of buildings, and have no relation to the cremation of the dead.

In a letter (now in my possession) from Whitaker to West, dated Manchester, July 4th, 1776, the former thus speaks of some communication to him in a previous letter of Mr. West's, now lost :—

> Your mutilated figure and your imperfect inscription I can make nothing of. The former appears to me to exhibit a couple of human hands, with the backs of them to the eye, and the thumbs under them, and if they had been *feet*, *all* the toes must have appeared. The inscription seems from the drawing to be upon the base of a pillar and to have these words—
>
> SERVIVS . VALERIVS
> CENTVRIO . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
>
> But I can make no sense of the rest.

Mr. West, at this time, resided at Hornby, nine miles north-east from Lancaster, being the minister at the Roman Catholic chapel at that village.† It is, therefore, hardly doubtful that the inscription named in the letter came

* See also Gough's *Camden*, (edit. 1789,) vol. iii., p. 141 ; and Simpson's *Hist. of Lancaster*, (1852,) p. 109.

† He died at Sizergh Castle, 1779. I am indebted to the Rev. Geo. Fisher, the present minister at Hornby, for much information respecting him.

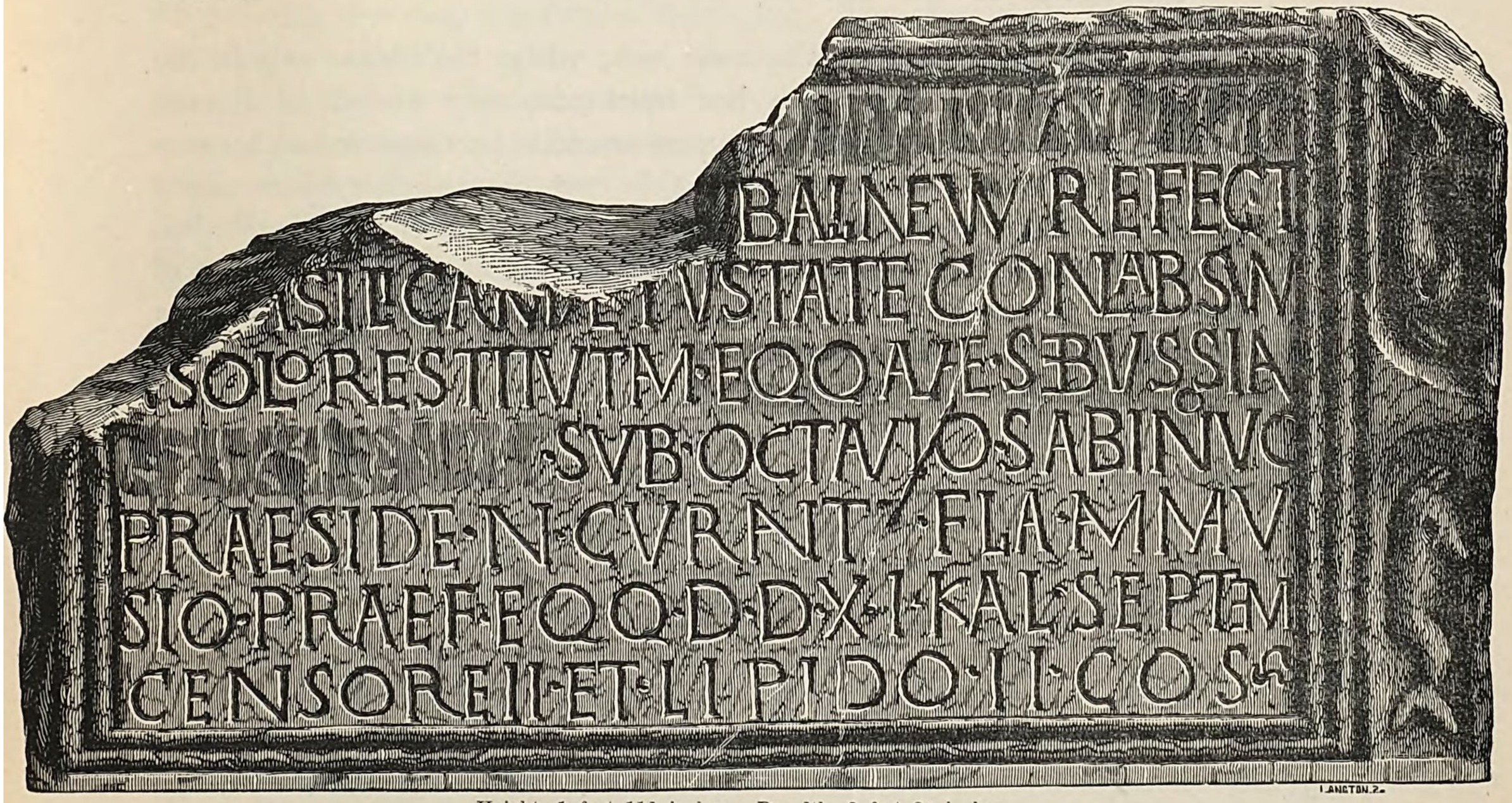
from Lancaster. From a comparison of the date with that of West's letter in the *Archæologia*, I am inclined to think that the "pedestal and feet part of a small image," bearing an inscription, named in the latter, is the "mutilated figure" and inscription referred to by Whitaker, who only had a drawing to guide him, and might therefore easily confound a pedestal with a pillar. This inscription has long been lost.

In 1798, Roman coins and pottery were found "on cutting a drain in Church Street, which leads to the Castle;"* but it was in February, 1812, that the most important discovery in this locality occurred, which is thus described:†—

> Some Roman antiquities were turned up in the garden of Mr. Willis at the top of Bridge Lane, (now the property of Mr. G. Nelson,) when the workmen came to some masonry, supposed to be an old wall, and about six feet from the surface discovered a large flag, supposed to have been part of a bath, with a Roman inscription upon it.

Dr. Whitaker says‡—

> At the same time when it (the inscribed stone) was discovered, remains of the bath to which it refers were also taken up. It appears to have been a cold bath, as there were no appearances of a hypocaust; and the paving as usual had been channeled to prevent the feet of the bathers from slipping.



Height, 1 foot 11½ inches; Breadth, 3 feet 8½ inches.

* Simpson, p. 115. † *Lancaster Records*, p. 59. ‡ *Hist. of Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 214.

The inscription is an interesting and important one. It is on a large tablet, of which the upper left-hand portion has been entirely broken off, and the remainder was divided into two parts, which have now been cemented together, but the breakage has materially interfered with the lettering. The stone, which came into Dr. Whitaker's possession, is now at St. John's College, Cambridge, built into the wall of the library, where, by permission of the authorities, I had it photographed in 1881. The woodcut on page 173 is from the photograph.

The inscription, after divesting it of ligatures (or tied letters) is :—

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * ═══════════

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * BALINEVM REFECT

* * * * ASILICAM VETVSTATE CONLABSAM

* SOLO RESTITVTAM EQQ . ALAE . SEBVSSIA

═══════════ SVB . OCTAVIO . SABINO . V . C

PRAESIDE . N . CVRANTE . FLA . AMMAV

SIO . PRAEF . EQQ . D . D . XI . KAL . SEPTEM

CENSORE $\overline{\text{II}}$ ET LIPIDO II . COS

The asterisks mark the portion of the stone lost ; where the blanks are, in the first and fifth lines, the inscription has been purposely erased in Roman times. This was a matter of frequent occurrence after an emperor had become unpopular and had been assassinated. In this case the emperor whose name has been obliterated in the first line was probably either Caracalla or Elagabulus. If the former emperor, the erasure has not taken place until after the death of the latter, when the titles Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, which he (as well as Caracalla) assumed, had become unpopular. The erasure in the fifth line has probably been that of the word *Antoniniana*, which the regiment had assumed in compliment to the Emperor. The names of the Consuls in the last line do not occur in the Consular *Fasti*, so that they were probably only *Consules suffecti;* had it been otherwise we should at once have known the date of the inscription. LIPIDO, in the same line, ought probably to be LEPIDO. The existing portion of the inscription, expanded, reads thus :—

"... *(ob)balineum refect(um) (et b)asilicam vetustate conlabsam a solo restitutam eq(uites) alae Sebussia(nae Antoninianae ?) sub Octavio Sabino v(iro) c(larissimo) praeside n(ostro) curante Fla(vio) Ammausio praef(ecto) eq(uitum). D(atum) d(edicatum) XI. Kal(endas) Septem(bres) Censore II. et Lepido II. co(n)s(ulibus).*"

This informs us that the soldiers *(equites)* of the cavalry regiment styled

the Sebusian (and Antoninian ?) rebuilt a bath, and restored from the ground *(a solo)* a *basilica* which had decayed through age, by the order of Octavius Sabinus, a man of illustrious rank, and President *(Praeses)* of the province; under the care of Flavius Ammausius, a praefect of horse (probably commander of the *ala)*. It was assigned and dedicated on the eleventh of the Kalends of September (22nd August), in the year when Censor and Lepidus (each for the second time) were Consuls. Several facts may be gathered from this. In the Malpas *tabula* of Trajan, A.D. 103, a cavalry regiment is named as being then in Britain, called the *Ala II. Gallorum Sebosiana*—"The second *ala* of the Gauls (styled) the Sebosian." An altar found at Stanhope, in Weardale, also bears an inscription by Caius Tetius Veturius Micianus, Praefect of the *Ala Sebosiana* (the term "second of the Gauls" is not used). There can be no doubt that this is the *ala* termed *Sebusiana* in the Lancaster inscription, consequently that a regiment of Gallic cavalry at one time occupied the station. We also gather from it that Lancaster must have been erected at a comparatively early period, when a *basilica* had become decayed and required rebuilding before A.D. 222. The occurrence of the word *Praeses*, as applied to the Legate of the Emperor, is also unique in British epigraphy. The name of the Legate, Octavius Sabinus, is otherwise unknown in the list of governors of Britain.* On one side of the stone are sculptured two dolphins.†

On carrying a drain through Church Street to meet with one from the Castle, the foundation of a wall composed of large hewn stones, laid in regular courses, has been brought to light; also many fragments of a beautiful red species of pottery with figures embossed in relief. On one there is Apollo playing on a lyre; on another, a horse in full speed.‡

These were fragments of Samian ware, one bore the potter's mark; a silver coin of one of the Antonines and a copper one of Faustina were also found. These are all the *recorded* discoveries, with the exception of tombstones, &c., (hereafter to be noticed) which have taken place *within* what may be supposed to be the extent of the area of the *castrum*, and the town around it. The remaining discoveries have chiefly occurred at places around Lancaster.

In 1774, what appears to have been a Roman tile manufactory was brought to light in Quernmore Park, the seat of the Hon. Edward Clifford. Mr. West says (p. 21)—

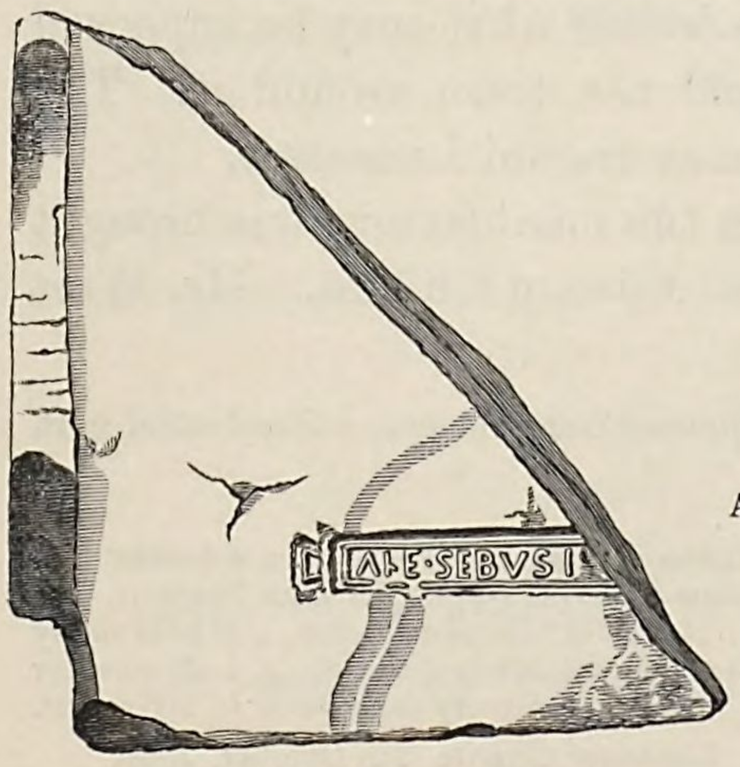
That these works have been very considerable may be supposed from the space discoloured with

* In the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. i., p. 130, Professor Mommsen has an article upon a person who appears, from Continental inscriptions, to have borne the names of Caius Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus, and to have been the imperial legate in Pannonia (Inferior) and Raetia, legate of the 22nd legion, and held many other posts. He was Consul A.D. 214. Professor Mommsen in this article raises the question (p. 142) whether the Octavius Sabinus of this Lancaster inscription is the same person, but no satisfactory conclusion is arrived at.

† See also Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire*, vol. iv., p. 489. ‡ *Lancaster Gazette*, 7th October, 1809.

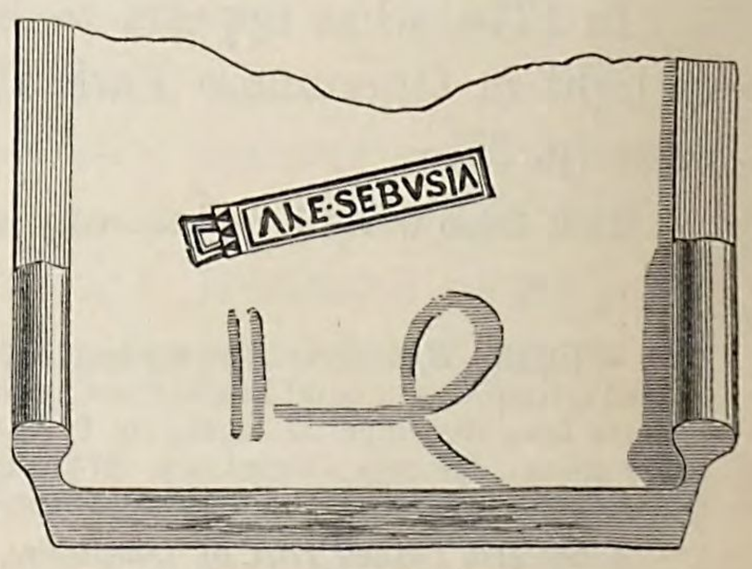
broken ware, the holes from whence the clay has been taken, and the great variety of bricks, tiles and vessels that are found about them. But the greatest discovery is gained from a tile with turned up edges, impressed on each end with the words ALE SEBVSIA, which points out a wing of cavalry not heard of before. The same inscription is found on bricks, the label smaller, and the letters ALA SEBVSIA. The shape of the second letter in the first word is like that in the inscription on the rock near Brampton, in Cumberland, supposed to have been cut in the time of the Emperor Severus, A.D. 207, and is the fifth L in Horsley's alphabet. On the brick the letters are square, from which it may be inferred that this wing was long stationed at Lancaster.

Through the courtesy of Miss ffarington, of Worden Hall, I am in possession of a copy of a letter from the Hon. Edward Clifford to Sir William ffarington, dated October 25th, 1774, and which accompanied several specimens of the pottery, tiles, &c., sent to the latter gentleman. The letter itself, which has not been published, contains nothing of much interest; but a list of the articles sent, appended to it, is of some value. They consisted of portions of *amphorae*, *paterae*, flue and roofing tiles, &c., and a piece of pottery on which was "probably part of the word SITIS, usually inscribed by the antients on vessels of glass, silver, or earthenware, from which they were supplied with drink at their meals. (See Montfaucon's *Antiquities*.)" There was also sent "a three-cornered fragment of a square tile, with inscription ALE SEBVSIA." The shape of the letter L in this is then described, agreeing with the account given by Mr. West, and it is added, "the dimensions of these tiles seem to have been about 14 inches square or something larger." From a drawing kindly contributed by Miss ffarington, I am enabled to annex a woodcut of the fragment of tile preserved at Worden Hall, the only one now known to be extant, (No. 1.) Another drawing of this fragment, with a portion of a similar tile, evidently taken at the time of their discovery, came into the possession of the Rev. Canon Raine, of York, and from it the woodcut No. 2 is taken. In the original the two fragments are made to appear as one long tile, with the centre broken out, which is palpably erroneous, though the idea was no doubt borrowed from West.



No. 1.—13 inches by 12.

AL(A)E SEBVSIA(NAE)



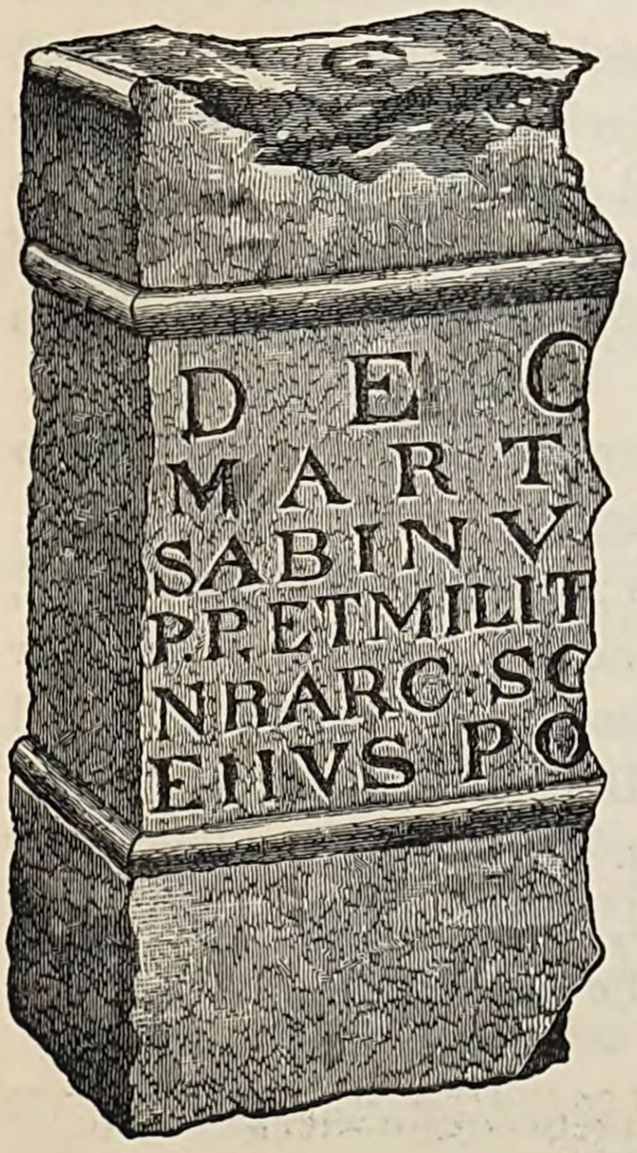
No. 2.—14 inches by 9.

It will be noticed that there are some rude scorings upon the tiles, made with a sharp instrument whilst the clay was soft. I believe they are intended to mean II . G ., and refer to the numerals and nationality of the *ala*, *i.e.*, II. G(ALLORVM). The thickness of the tile at Worden Hall is as nearly as possible $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch. Whitaker, in a letter to West, (June 18, 1773,) strangely says of the words ALE SEBVSIA :—"The inscription was designed, I suppose, for Alexandri Sebusiani," *i.e.*, a potter's name.

Speaking of the site of this manufactory, Mr. Clifford further says :—

> Common brick, coarse pieces of round flues or water pipes, common flooring tiles, and remnants of almost every species of this manufactory, are found near the area of the site of the kiln, part of which was standing within the memory of men still living, and great destruction made of all the remains, in levelling the ground for plowing. Some brazen and other utensils with inscriptions were at that time found, but dispersed or converted to private use by the tenants. A stratum of charcoal with which these were burnt is found underneath and intermixed in the heaps of these remains, three or four foot and a half underground. No glazed work amongst it, that art being of more modern date.

The fragments of pottery found, I opine, were merely portions of vessels that had been used by the brickmakers for domestic purposes, and do not indicate that the site was also a pottery. The variety of ware, judging from the fragments now at Worden, which include Upchurch and Castor pottery, seems to prove this. It is simply what we might expect to find, from the long residence of a considerable population.



In the churchyard at Halton (three miles north-east of Lancaster) there was dug up, in 1794, an interesting inscribed altar.

DEO	*Deo*
MARTI	*Marti*
SABINV(S)	*Sabinus*
P. P. ET MILIT(ES)	*P(rae)p(ositus) et Milites*
N. BARC. S. C.	*N(umeri) Barc(ariorum) S(ub) C(ura)*
EIIVS. PO(S)	*Eiius Pos(uerunt)**

The double I in EIIVS is peculiar. The officer *(praepositus)* named in the inscription must not be confounded with the Octavius Sabinus whose name occurs in the large tablet, though it would at first sight seem that P. P. might be expanded

* See also Clarke's *Hist. of Lancaster* (2nd edit.), p. 79; McCaul, *Brit. Rom. Inscr.*, p. 84; Whitaker, *Hist. of Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 215; *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. vii., No. 285; Baines' *Hist. Lancashire* (edit. 1836) vol. iv., p. 487.

as *Praeses Provinciae ;* but the subsequent lines, which prove him to have been in command of a *numerus*, clearly shew that a different person is intended. The whole inscription, translated, is : " To the god Mars, Sabinus, a *praepositus*, and the soldiers of the *numerus* of boatmen under his orders have placed (this)."

This altar was found near the sun-dial post, and closely adjoining a Saxon cross. A portion of the right-hand side of the face is broken off, leaving the termination of the lines incomplete. The altar was removed, in the first instance, to the stable yard at Halton Hall, whence it seems to have been ejected, for in 1850, when the British Archæological Association visited Lancaster, it was lying half buried in a field, and was dug out for the inspection of the members. Since then it has been retaken to the Hall, built into the wall of the study, and protected by glass plating. This makes it almost impossible to obtain a photograph of it, but the woodcut given on page 177 is produced from a drawing made soon after the altar was discovered, and for which I am indebted to James Johnson, Esq., M.D., lately resident at Lancaster. It has a remarkably small focus.

In the *Notitia* a *Numerus Barcariorum Tigrisiensium* is placed at a station called *Arbeia*, which I have elsewhere endeavoured to prove was situated at the mouth of the Tees. Latin scholars have differed considerably as to the meaning of the words *Barcariorum Tigrisiensium.* The views of Professor Böcking and Dr. McCaul are entitled to the most weight. They consider that the first word is derived from *barca* (a barge), and *Tigrisiensium* from the name of the river Tigris ; on which river the *numerus* had served before coming to Britain, and therefore give the translation—" The *numerus* of the bargemen of the Tigris." The force named on the Halton altar appears to have been of the same nature.

In 1802 another inscribed altar was found at a farm called the " Foley," or " Folly," about a mile north from Lancaster, in digging to form a limekiln. It was lying about eighteen inches below the surface ; the base was broken off, and it was rounded off at all four of the lower corners. After remaining for nearly three-quarters of a century at the farm, in possession of a family named Rawlinson, it came into the possession of T. H. Dalzell, Esq., and is now preserved by him at Clifton Hall, near Workington. From a photograph of the face, with which I was favoured by Mr. Dalzell, the annexed woodcut is taken, and the sides are engraved from drawings by the same gentleman :—



The inscription is—

DEO	*Deo*
IALONO	*Jalono*
CONTRE	*Contre(bi ?)*
SANCTISSI	*Sanctissimo*
MO . IVLIVS	*Julius*
IANVARIVS	*Januarius*
EM . EX . DECV.	*Em(eritus) ex Decu(rione)*

With the exception of the third line, of which various readings have been proposed, the inscription is easily read. Dr. Hübner* considers that CONTRE in this inscription and CONTREBI in another (hereafter to be described) from Overborough are derived from the Hispano-Roman town, *Contrebia.*† This seems the most feasible reading, and I have adopted it accordingly. Who this "most holy god Jalonus" was we do not know. It appears likely that he gave the name to the river. Julius Januarius was a veteran, or discharged soldier *(emeritus)*. The *decuria*, which he is mentioned as belonging to, was originally a detachment of ten men, of which there were three in a *turma*, or troop of cavalry, each commanded by a decurion, but after the time of Augustus, the title of *decurio* began to be used for the commander of each *turma*, and is, no doubt, so used here. Januarius probably belonged to the *Ala Sebosiana.*‡

* *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. vii., No. 284.

† *Contrebia* was a town of the *Celtiberi*, and was situated in *Hispania Tarraconensis.*

‡ See also *Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1802, p. 993; Clarke's *Hist. of Lancaster*, p. 80; Whitaker, *Hist. of Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 214; Baines, *Hist. of Lancashire* (1836), vol. iv., p. 488.

In 1794, whilst the workmen were excavating for the canal between Lancaster and Preston, at a place called "The Borough," in a field belonging to the Duke of Hamilton, in the township of Ashton, on the road from Lancaster to Cockerham, they came, at a depth of several feet, upon a number of sculptures, amongst which were four human heads, each about 15 inches high, but whom designed to represent is unknown. They are now, together with the three sculptures figured on p. 181, preserved at the seat of B. P. Gregson, Esq., at Caton, near Lancaster, but are much worn (probably through being for some time in a carpenter's yard at Lancaster), so that Dr. Whitaker's engravings of three of them,* which seem faithfully drawn, are the best criterion of their original appearance, and I have accordingly reproduced them. The fourth is enlarged from Clarke's engraving.†



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.

Nos. 1 and 3 are comparatively rude, and from the style of head dress may represent Britons. No. 2 is somewhat better in execution, but neither it nor the other female head, which is coarser, can be identified with any known Roman personages, either goddesses or otherwise.



In 1872, another human head, at first supposed to be Roman, and of Jupiter Ammon, was found close to the same spot. From a drawing sent to me, I however concluded it was a mediæval corbel, but loth to be satisfied with simply my own opinion, I sent the drawing to Mr. C. Roach-Smith, who confirmed my views in every point. This head is now preserved at Clifton Hall, by Mr. Dalzell.

* *Hist of Richmondshire*, p. 215.

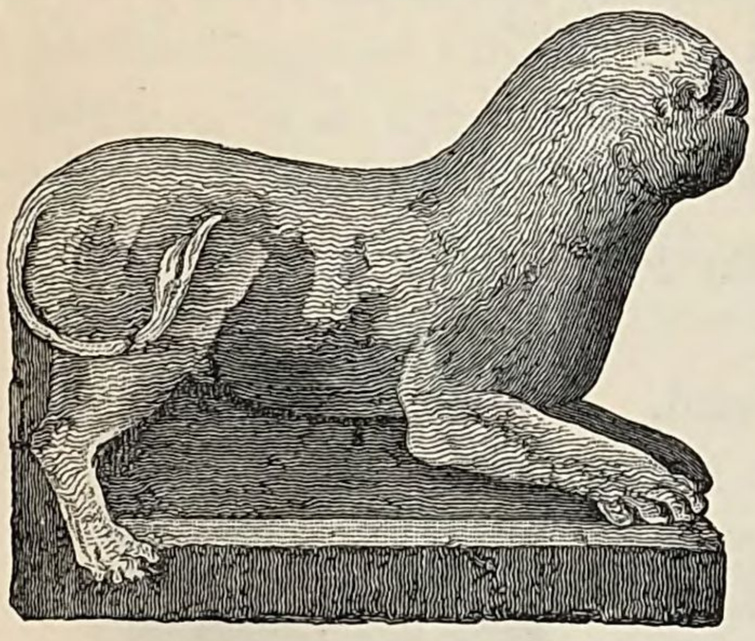
† As it appears in *Lancaster Records*.

Another portion of the "find" was the headless statue of a female, the execution of which is much superior. It has been supposed to represent Ceres, but I can see no authority for such an identification.

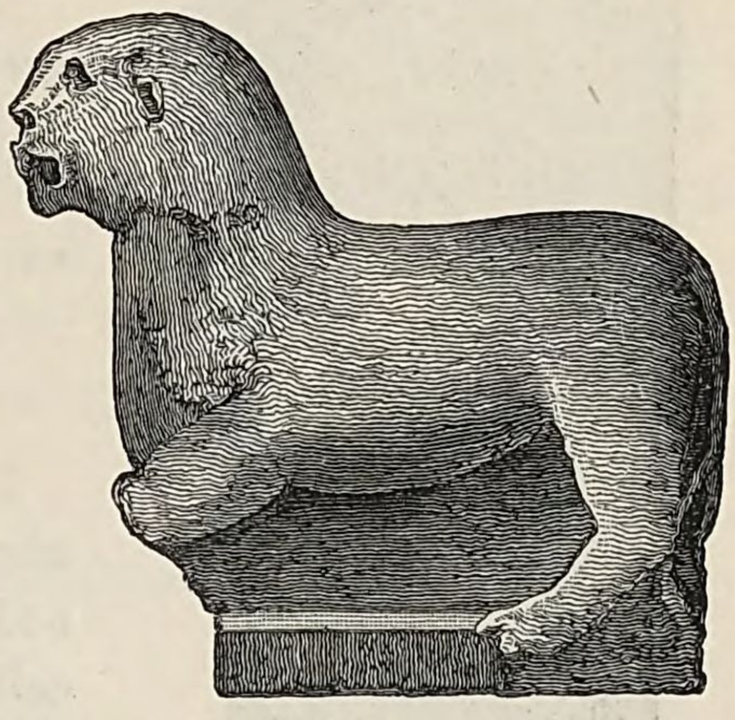


Height, 2feet.

The remaining sculptures are the figures of two animals, whose *genus* I will not attempt to determine. By some they have been called "sea-lions;" I however leave



Height, 1ft. 8½in. Breadth, 1ft. 11in.



Height, 2ft. Breadth, 2ft. 2in.

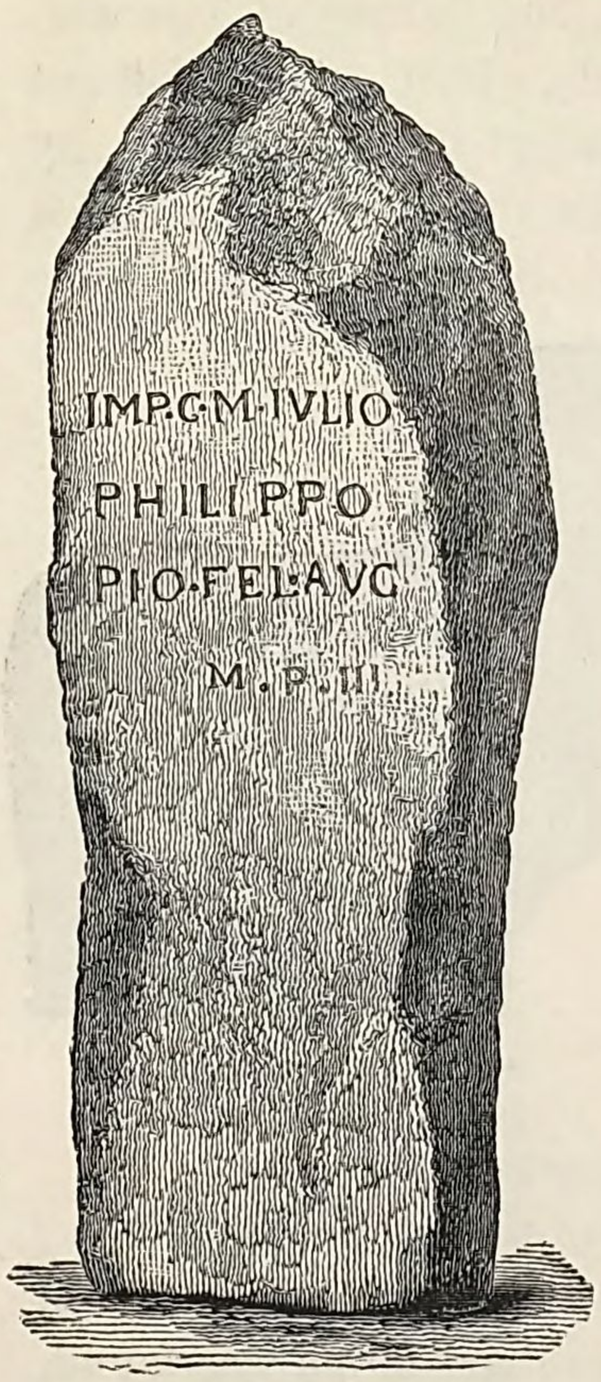
the reader to form his own opinion of them from the engravings.

A peculiarity of the Lancaster station is the number of milestones *(milliaria)* which have been found. Simpson says (p. 119), that "at the same place and on the same occasion" as the last-named discovery, a milliary stone was found, inscribed—

IMP . C . M . IVLIO
PHILIPPO
PIO . FEL . AVG.

and that it was preserved at Stoddy Lodge. It is not mentioned by Clarke, though Baines (p. 488) alludes to it. Clarke, however, states (p. 122), that a *milliarium* of Philip "was found in the spring of 1811, in ploughing a field adjoining the canal, within the township of Ashton," and he engraves it. This appears to be the stone engraved by Dr. Whitaker *(History of Richmondshire,* p. 215). Simpson adds (p. 118), that it was "so near the surface of the earth that it was struck by the ploughshare of the husbandman." This latter stone seems to me, from personal inspection, to be the one preserved in the garden at Stoddy Lodge (now called Lunecliffe, the seat of E. B. Dawson, Esq.) This milestone would be erected between the years A.D. 244 (when Philip became Emperor) and A.D. 249 (when he was murdered).

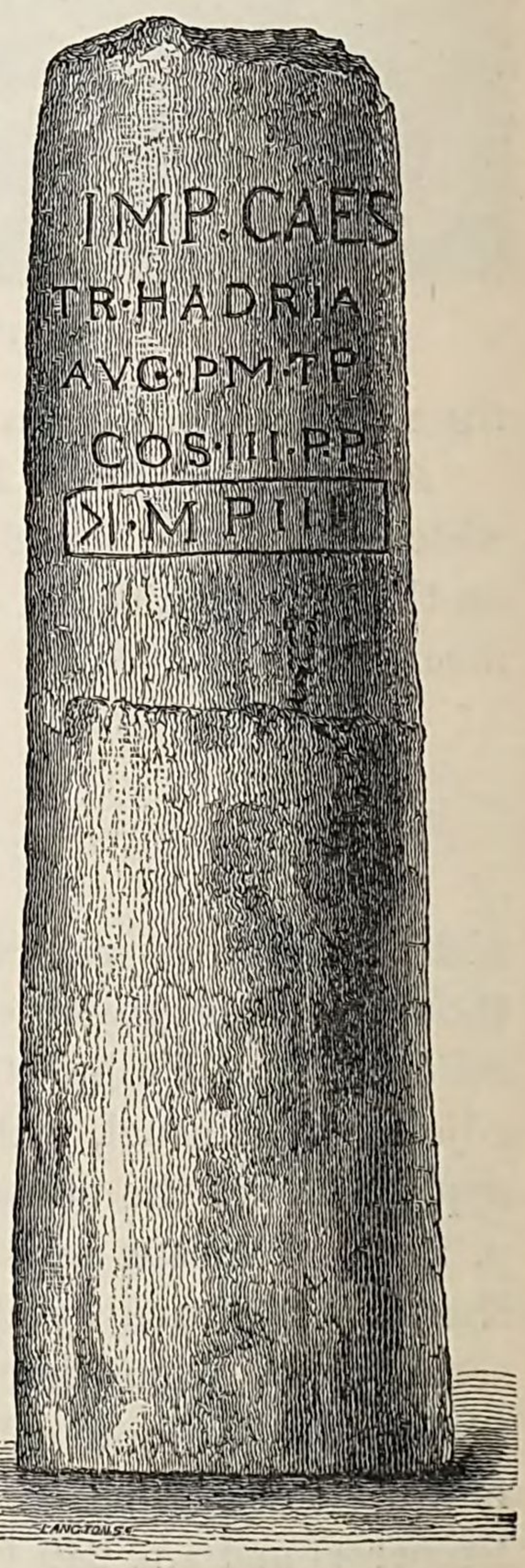
The letters are very slightly cut. Clarke and Whitaker give as a portion of the fourth line the letter M only, but I detected the letters P. III. following it; so that it marked the distance of three miles from the Lancaster station.* It is erected "By the Emperor Caesar Marcus Julius Philippus, the pious, fortunate Augustus."



Height, 6 feet.

IMP . C . M . IVLIO	*Imp(eratore) C(aesare) M(arco) Julio*
PHILIPPO	*Philippo*
PIO . FEL . AVG.	*Pio Fel(ici) Aug(usto)*
M . P . III.	*M(ilia) P(assuum) III.*

In 1803 there was found, after a high flood, in the bed of a little stream called the Artle Beck, (which, coming from the south, falls into the river Lune,) near Caton, about four miles east-north-east in a straight line from Lancaster, a very fine *milliarium* of Hadrian.† It is a cylindrical column about seven feet high, nearly four feet in circumference, and is now preserved in Mr. Gregson's grounds at Caton, with the sculptures before mentioned.



Height, 7 feet.

IMP . CAES .	*Imp(eratore) Caes(are)*
TR . HADRIA	*Tr(aiano) Hadria(no)*
AVG . P . M . T . P.	*Augusto Pontifici Maximo T(ribunitia) P(otestate)*
COS . III. P . P.	*Co(n)s(ule) iii. P(atre) P(atriae)*
>| M . P . III.	. . . *Milia Passuum III.*

The only difficulty in this is in the last line, where the form before the M is puzzling. Were

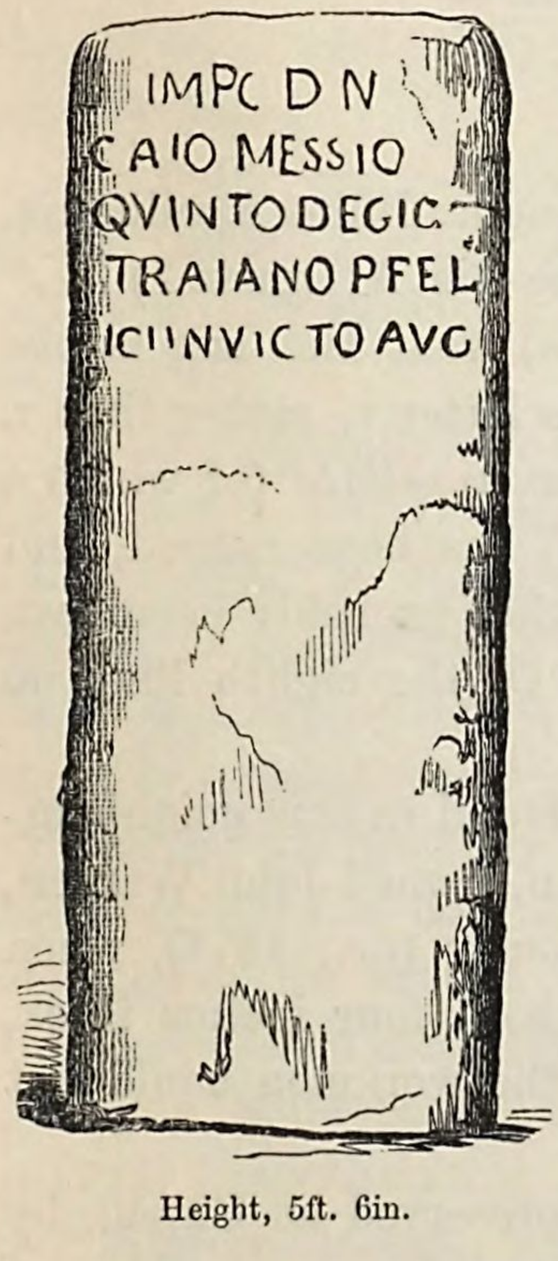
* An engraving of it, copied from Clarke, appears in *Lancaster Records.*

† See Clarke's *Lancaster*, p. 81; Whitaker's *Hist. of Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 215; Baines, *Hist. of Lancashire* (1836), p. 488; Simpson, *Hist. of Lancaster*, p. 119.

the stone similar to others of its class it should have here given us the Roman name of Lancaster. What follows—M . P . III.—is plain enough, giving the distance as three miles from that town. This stone may have been erected any time between A.D. 119 and A.D. 138, for Hadrian was only Consul three times, and the omission of the numerals after T. P. prevents us from knowing the exact year of its erection.

In 1834, another *milliarium* was found in the same field as that dedicated to the Emperor Philip.* It is not cylindrical, but the face is planed, and the lettering is at the very top of the stone, which is now preserved at Lunecliffe, by E. B. Dawson, Esq., where I recently inspected it.

Decius succeeded Philip in A.D. 249, and reigned till A.D. 251, when he was killed in a sanguinary battle with the Goths. During this period the milestone was erected.



Height, 5ft. 6in.

IMP . C . D . N . *Imp(eratore) C(aesare) D(omino) N(ostro)*
CAIO MESSIO *Caio Messio*
QVINTO DECIO *Quinto Decio*
TRAIANO P . FEL *Trajano P(io) Felici*
ICI INVICTO AVG. *Invicto Aug(usto)* †

It reads—"By the Emperor Caesar, our lord Caius Messius Quintus Decius Trajanus, the pious, the fortunate Augustus."

So far as discoveries have enlightened us, the only Roman cemeteries were to the east and south-east of the *castrum*. The first discovery recorded was, according to *West's Guide to the Lakes* ‡ (p. 20), made in digging a cellar where an old house had stood in Pudding Lane (now called Cheapside), in 1772, when there was found, lying face downwards—

in a bed of fine sand, about five feet underground, a square inscribed stone, of four feet by two and a half, dimensions. A foot and two inches were broken off the lower corner on the right-hand side, so as to render the inscription obscure, but the remaining letters were very plain, elegantly formed, square, and about three inches high.

* Simpson, p. 120; *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, No. 1174, and *Lancaster Records.*

† Following other antiquaries, including Dr. Hübner, I have expanded the inscriptions on these milestones in the ablative, though I am doubtful of its correctness. Dr. Hübner alters the word FELICI on this milestone, and on several others, to FELICE. There is no occasion for this, either being the ablative.

‡ This was a posthumous work of West's, published in 1779.

Neither here nor in a letter of West's, now in my possession, is a copy of the inscription given, though in the latter he gives the name of the person commemorated, but says the discovery occurred in 1773, in Penny Street. The inscription was first published, though somewhat erroneously, in *Cooke's Topographical Description of the County of Lancaster.** A copy of it by Mr. George Ashby, preserved in the Gough MSS., in the Bodleian Library, is, however, probably the correct one. This reads :

DIS MANI	*Dis Manibus*
BVS	
L . IVL . APoL	*L(ucius) Jul(ius) Apollinaris*
LINARIS	
TrEVeR . AN .	*Trever An(norum)*
XXX . EQ . AI	*XXX. Eq(ues) Alae*
AE . AI	*A(ugustae)* . . . .
I V	

and should be translated—" To the gods, the shades. Lucius Julius Apollinaris, a citizen of Treves, thirty years of age, a horseman of the Ala A(ugusta ?) . . ."

West infers (though he does not absolutely say so) that the last stroke visible in the seventh line is the commencement of the letter v, rather than i, and hence concludes that the *Ala Augusta, ob virtutem appellata* (of which a number of inscriptions have been found at Old Carlisle) has been named, and in this I am inclined to agree with him—the letters having probably been AVG. The last letter of the sixth line should certainly be L. Of the eighth line, no reading can be attempted.†

I have reason to believe that another tombstone was found in this neighbourhood, but destroyed. On the 10th July, 1878, an old man, named John Warden, a mason,‡ informed me that about four years previously (*i.e.*, 1874), when additions were made to the Town Hall, a large slab, about four inches thick, with "lines of letters" upon it, was found ; "but, as the workmen could not read it, they destroyed it."

Baines§ states that an inscribed tombstone (now preserved at Caton, by Mr. Gregson) was found on the Castle Hill, in 1830, but from a drawing of it, sent to me in 1873 by Mr. Dalzell, I found that it was a tombstone brought

* In Gough's *Camden* (edit. 1806), p. 394 ; Baines, vol. iv., p. 486, and Simpson, p. 108, this erroneous copy is repeated.

† This stone was preserved in the Leverian Musuem, and since the dispersion of the latter in 1806, has been lost sight of.

‡ Living at 1, Brock Street, Lancaster.

§ *Hist. of Lancashire* (1836), pp. 487, 489.

from Birdoswald *(Amboglanna)*, on the Roman Wall, which had long been missing.* How, or when, it had been removed to Lancaster, it is impossible to say.

In 1812, also in Cheapside, in cutting a drain, a number of bones were found, with many fragments of pottery (probably of cinerary urns) and two millstones (querns).† In 1840, a cinerary urn was found in digging the foundation of St. Thomas's Church; and in October, 1847, a similar urn was found in draining operations in Queen's Square, about 18 inches high. It is said to have been of "unburnt clay," the bulge marked with lines, and contained burnt bones and the skull of a child.‡ The nature of the material would seem to imply a British rather than a Roman origin. Simpson states that in 1852 it was in the possession of a Miss Heaton.

At the end of 1876 some more urns were discovered not far from the same locality, in the south-east portion of the town, in making some excavations for the War Department. Most of them were broken, but one was in good preservation.§

In 1849, an iron spear-head, now in Mr. Dalzell's possession, was found in Marsh Lane, in digging for the junction of the North-Western and Carlisle railways. A number of Roman coins were found at the same time, but were dispersed.

A large quantity of Roman pottery of every description has been found at Lancaster. Dr. Leigh|| describes a number of vessels (evidently of Samian ware) found "in digging up of a cellar of Mr. Partington," which had "upon their sides the figures of various creatures, and IVLIVS FLAVIVS in letters." From this name appearing on the side, it could not have been a potter's mark, but probably commemorated some individual whose figure was introduced into the ornamentation (possibly a gladiator), as we find in other examples, notably a fine urn, with a lid, found at Colchester. Dr. Leigh also says that REGINI occurred on the bottom of another vessel. This is a well-known potter's mark. As before stated CADGATEMA was found in Church Street, in 1776, and SIT . . . . . (probably, when entire, SITVSIRI. M, a well-known potter's mark) at Quernmoor, in 1774. QVINTILIANI. M. was found in Church Street, in 1809.¶ All these were on "Samian" ware. The handles of two vessels of very rude pottery (one found in 1819, and the other in 1844) were some years since preserved at the

* *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. xxviii., p. 115. † Simpson, p. 119. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 121.
§ Information from W. O. Roper, Esq. || *Nat. Hist. of Lancashire*, Book iii., p. 10.
¶ *Lancaster Gazette*, 7th October, 1809.

Castle. The former was inscribed CAN . . NCNI, and was imperfect in the centre. The other (fragmentary) read . . . . TI. M.

On going through the Roman pottery in the Mechanics' Institute, at Lancaster, I could find only three fragments, all of "Samian" ware, which bore potters' inscriptions. They were . . . ATIS., RPP., and IMI . . . The first was on part of the bottom of a bowl, the others on portions of the sides of vessels. The last, I think, is part of the word IMANNI. There were also two fragments of *graffiti* inscriptions, scratched with some sharp instrument, on fragments of "Samian" ware, . . . IFERI and LIB . . .

In making the railway station, in 1849-50, a considerable quantity of pottery was found, a great portion of which is now in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool. The most remarkable is a vase, or cup, of rather coarse red ware, the front of which represents a human face. The nose is very prominent, and the eyes are inlaid—the pupils being painted white. The hair on the face is delineated by roughly-incised lines, and at the back is a handle. This vessel is delineated in the accompanying woodcut.



Height, 8 inches. Diameter, 5½ inches.

Roman vases, bearing a human face on the front, have been discovered at Lincoln, Burgh Castle, Colchester, Chester-le-Street, Carrawburgh, &c., but the shape of the vessel has been very different, the face occupying only a portion of the front, whilst in this example it occupies the whole. An urn, with a human face upon it, found at Billericay,* is more like the Lancaster one; but another, found in excavations for the Coal Exchange, London, in 1849, approaches still nearer.

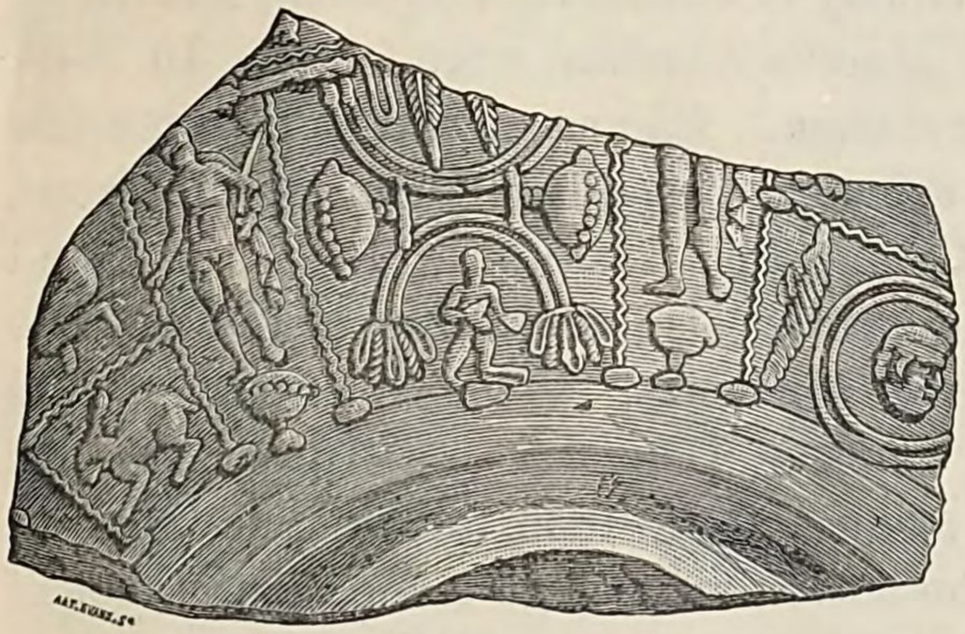
A Roman lamp, of red pottery, is amongst the collection; it appears to bear the maker's name on the bottom in relief, but so indistinctly stamped that it is illegible. A large number of fragments of embossed "Samian" ware also occur. They bear similar devices to other vessels of this ware found in England—figures of deities, soldiers, &c., and various kinds of animals—lions, hares, &c., also different sorts of birds. A portion of them bear the potter's

* *Journal of Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. iii., p. 250.

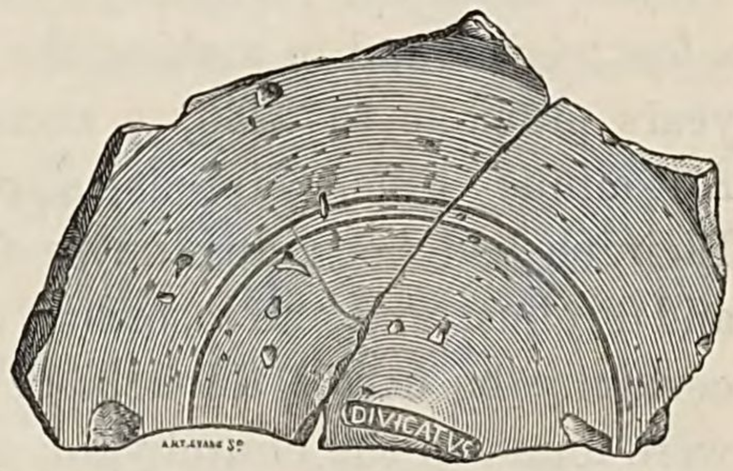
names, amongst which are the following, all well known from having been found at other Roman stations, ATTICI . M., (AL)BINI . M., (B)ORILLI . M., CATVLI . . ., OF . COELI., DIVICATVS., OFF . GER., QVINTILIANI . M., SEXTI . O., SEDATI . M., and another impressed in a reverse manner, but rather indistinct, which is probably RVCCVS, a name found on Roman pottery in London.

Besides these are several portions of *mortaria*, in light-coloured pottery, of which two bear illegible names. One of the others bears the letters TEPACI, no doubt part of the word which on another example occurs in full, ATEPACI. A third is stamped DE*A . OF . C. We have examples of a stamp DEVAI on *mortaria* found in London, Castor (Northants.), and elsewhere; probably this is an imperfect example. The asterisk marks a missing letter. There are also a few fragmentary portions of glass vessels, of an olive green colour, and a bone comb, similar to those found in the Danish "kitchen middens." This last I take to be a remnant of British occupation.

Two fragments of the "Samian" ware I have had engraved. No. 1 is a fair specimen of the style and state of preservation of the whole of the



No. 1.



No. 2.

"embossed" portions. No. 2 is a portion of the bottom of a plain bowl, showing the potter's name, DIVICATVS. They are both engraved two-thirds of the original size.

Mr. Dalzell informs me that he saw the following potter's stamps on "Samian" ware found in Church Street, in 1868-70-71:—A . POLAVSTI., . TICOTAKI . M., SVLPLICIANI., CADGATE . MA., QVINTILIANI . M., DAGODVN VV., DIVES., ANIEACIO HB. (or NEB), and in 1872, IMANNI. The first, third, fifth, sixth, and ninth of these occur in various parts of England. The fourth, we have before seen, was found in Lancaster, in 1776, and the fifth in 1809. The second,

seventh, and eighth have possibly been wrongly read. In translating these stamps it is only necessary to say that where M or MA occur after the name, they stand for the word MANV., *e.g.*, QVINTILIANI . M., "by the hand of Quintilianus;" and where OF. or OFF. occur (generally preceding, though occasionally following), the word OFFICINA is meant, *e.g.*, OF . COELI., "from the workshop of Coelius."

Mr. W. O. Roper, of Lancaster, informs me that some pottery was recently found on the south side of Church Street, almost white in colour, which, from his description, I should consider Romano-British. One fragment was somewhat rudely stamped with letters which look like TIRV., and another, of which only part of the stamp remains, looks like —IOC—. There was found at the same time a quantity of ordinary red ware, a quern stone, a large *amphora*, and (closely adjoining) a cinerary urn. Mr. E. G. Paley is also in possession of several urns.

Vast quantities of coins have been found at Lancaster. Dr. Leigh notices coins of Hadrian and Augustus, but gives no description of them. On building the Vicarage, in 1830, a large number, chiefly of Claudius, Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, were found. In 1849, a few were found in making the railway station. Baines says, that within a few years previous to 1836, a number of coins of Vespasian, Domitian, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Maximus, Diocletian, and Licinius had been dug up in the churchyard; also about 100 of Constantine and Probus, and one inscribed CONSTANTIVS NOB . CHES. This latter word should certainly be CAES. In 1837-8, copper coins of Domitian and Antoninus Pius were found in the churchyard, and on August 15th, 1856, a workman engaged in cutting away the embankment at the bottom of Bridge Lane, at the foot of the "Wery Wall," to make way for some new cottages then about being erected by Mr. Thomas Harrison, came upon a hoard of about 100 *denarii*, all of the time of the higher empire, which were quickly dispersed, but fourteen of them were subsequently secured by Mr. Dalzell.

From the "finds" named, made in 1830 and subsequently, the late W. Jackson, Esq., the late B. Dockeray, Esq., and the late Corbyn Barrow, Esq., made extensive collections; and the late Canon Turner (Vicar), a smaller one, purchased at his death by Mr. Dalzell. Those formed by Messrs. Jackson and Dockeray seem either to have been dispersed or removed to other parts of the kingdom. Mr. Barrow's was presented to the Lancaster Mechanics' Institute, but at present, owing to other coins, both Roman and of all ages and countries,

being mixed in the cases with them, it is impossible, except in a few instances, to identify them. In the annexed list of coins now traceable, or of which descriptions have been preserved, those marked with an asterisk are in Mr. Dalzell's collection.

CONSULAR DENARII.

*ANTONIA	Silver	*Obverse*, ANT. AVG. III. VIR. R.P.C. A galley. *Reverse*, LEG . . .* An eagle between two military ensigns.
POSTVMIA	Silver	*Obverse*, Head of Diana. *Reverse*, A. POST. A. F. ALBIN. A priest about to sacrifice a bull.

IMPERIAL SERIES.

*AVGVSTVS	1st brass	*Pax*, holding olive branch and cornucopia. Legend obliterated.
*CLAVDIVS	1st brass	Reverse illegible.
CLAVDIVS	1st brass	S.C. Minerva, galeated, hurling a javelin. On left arm a circular shield.
*NERO	2nd brass	S.C. Victory carrying a globe, on which is SPQR.
NERO	2nd brass	Another example of above.
OTHO	Silver	SECVRITAS. P.R. A female figure, standing, with wreath in right hand and the *hasta* in the left.
*VESPASIAN	Silver	COS. VIII. Mars, standing to left, holding a trophy and a spear.
*VESPASIAN	Silver	EX. S.C. Victory, standing to left, erecting a trophy. Below, a female figure, representing Judea, seated.
*VESPASIAN	Silver	PON. MAX. TR. P. COS VI. Emperor, sitting to left, holding olive branch and sceptre. (Two examples.)
*VESPASIAN	Silver	Seated figure. Legend obliterated.
VESPASIAN	Silver	SALVS, AVG. Female figure, seated, holding a patera.
*VESPASIAN	1st brass	FORTVNAE AVG. Fortune, standing, holding a cornucopia and a rudder.
*TITVS	Silver	TR.P. IX. IMP.XV. COS. VIII. P.P. Figure obliterated.
DOMITIAN	Silver	IMP. XXI. COS. XV. CENS. P.P.P. Pallas, armed, hurling a javelin.
*DOMITIAN	1st brass	MONETA. AVG. Female figure (*Moneta*), standing to left, holding scales and cornucopia.
*DOMITIAN	1st brass	Emperor seated, captive kneeling. Legend obliterated.
*DOMITIAN	1st brass	S.C. Two soldiers sacrificing.
*TRAJAN	Silver	SPQR. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. Abundance standing to left, in right hand ears of corn, in left a cornucopia.
*TRAJAN	1st brass	TR. POT. COS. II. Piety standing by a lighted altar. In field, S. C.

* Numerals obliterated.

*TRAJAN	1st brass	SPQR. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. S. C. Trophy of arms.
*TRAJAN	1st brass	SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS. A column.
*TRAJAN	1st brass	A wreath containing an uncertain inscription.
*HADRIAN	1st brass	Head radiated on *Obverse*. *Reverse*, VIRTVTI. AVGVSTI. S. C. Valour standing to left, holding a spear.
*HADRIAN	Silver	PM. TRP. COS. II. Across the field, PIETAS.
*HADRIAN	1st brass	Reverse obliterated.
*ANTONINVS PIVS	1st brass	Emperor seated to left on an estrade, before him Liberality standing holding a tessera and cornucopia. At the bottom of the estrade a man holding out his hands. LIBERALITAS.
ANTONINVS PIVS...	1st brass	GENIO SENATVS. S. C. Standing figure holding an olive branch.
FAVSTINA (the elder)	2nd brass	IVNONI REGINAE. S. C. Juno veiled standing to left, holding a patera and a sceptre.
FAVSTINA (the elder)	Silver	CONSECRATIO. A funeral pile (or monument).
MARCVS AVRELIVS	1st brass	Reverse obliterated (three examples).
*MARCVSAVRELIVS	1st brass	Romulus and Remus suckled by a wolf. S. C.
*FAVSTINA (the younger)	Silver	MATRI MAGNAE. Cybele seated between two lions.
LVCIVS VERVS.....	2nd brass	Female figure standing. Legend effaced.
COMMODVS.....	2nd brass	TR. P. V. IMP. S. C. A military figure with trophy, marching.
*SEVERVS	1st brass	PM. TR. XVII. COS. III. PP. Rome seated, holding a sceptre, at her feet a figure kneeling.
CARACALLA	Silver	Much defaced; a seated figure only visible.
SEVERVSALEXAND	ER...2nd brass...	PROVIDENTIA. AVG. S. C. Female figure standing, holding ears of corn over a modius; in her left hand a cornucopia.
*MAXIMINVS	1st brass	Victory holding a wreath; captive seated, bound. Legend obliterated.
MAXIMVS.....	2nd brass	Reverse obliterated.
GORDIAN III	1st brass	VICTORIA. AVG.
GALLIENVS	3rd brass	ABVNDANTIA. AVG. A female figure pouring fruit from a cornucopia (two examples).
POSTVMVS	Billon	FIDES. MILITVM. A woman standing, in each hand a military standard (three examples).
POSTVMVS	Billon	PROVIDENTIA. AVG. Female figure (two examples).
VICTORINVS	3rd brass	PAX. AVG. Peace standing with *hasta pura* and olive branch.
TETRICVS (Sen.) ...	3rd brass	HILARITAS. AVG. A woman standing, holding a palm branch and cornucopia (two examples).
CLAVDIVS GOTHIC	VS... 3rd brass...	CONSECRATIO. An eagle with outstretched wings.
PROBVS	3rd brass	PAX. AVG. In the field, D (type same as that of Victorinus, above).

DIOCLETIAN	2nd brass	GENIO. POPVLI. ROMANI. Genius standing, holding a cornucopia and a patera.
*MAXIMIANVS	2nd brass	Reverse illegible.
CARAVSIVS	3rd brass	PAX. AVG. In the field, S. C.; in exergue, C. (four examples).
CARAVSIVS	3rd brass	FIDES. MILITVM. (Two examples).
CARAVSIVS	3rd brass	FORTVNA AVG. Fortune standing, with rudder and cornucopia.
ALLECTVS	3rd brass	PAX. AVG. (Two examples).
ALLECTVS	3rd brass	VIRTVS AVG. A galley, with mast and rowers; in the exergue, Q. C.
CONSTANTIVS CHLORVS...	2nd brass	GENIO. POPVLI ROMANI. (Similar to coin of Diocletian, named above.)
*MAXENTIVS	2nd brass	CONSERVATORES. KART. SVAE. A female figure standing within a temple of six columns; in exergue, P. K. Γ.
LICINIVS	3rd brass	GENIO. POP. ROM. Genius standing, holding a patera and cornucopia. In the field, T. F.; in exergue, A. S. (two examples).
CONSTANTINVS (the Great)	3rd brass	BEATA. TRANQVILLITAS. An altar, inscribed VOTIS XX.; in exergue, P. LON. (three examples). There are also two examples with same legend and PTR in exergue.
CONSTANTINVS (the Great)	3rd brass	SOLI. INVICTO. COMITI. The Sun standing, right hand raised, left holding a globe.
CRISPVS	3rd brass	CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. A wreath enclosing VOT. X.
CONSTANTINVS II.	3rd brass	BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. An altar, globe, and three stars. In exergue, P. LC.
CONSTANS	3rd brass	FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. A phœnix upon a funeral pile.
CONSTANS	3rd brass	GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers, standing, bearing a standard, on which is the monogram of Christ, in exergue, TRPS.
VRBS ROMA	3rd brass	Helmeted head of Rome. Romulus and Remus suckled by a wolf. Above, two stars. In exergue, P. CONST. (Three examples.)
CONSTANTINOPOLIS.	3rd brass	Obverse, a female head, with laureated helmet; bust in armour, and a sceptre resting on the shoulder. Reverse, Victory, holding the *hasta pura* and a shield, her right foot upon the prow of a galley. In exergue, PLC. (Four examples.)
MAGNENTIVS.....	2nd brass	SALVS. DD. NN. AVG ET CAES. Monogram of Christ, between the letters Alpha and Omega. In the exergue, TRS.
VALENTINIANVS ...	3rd brass	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE. Victory, with wreath and palm branch, marching to left. In the field, OF. III. Exergue obliterated.
GRATIANVS	3rd brass	VOT. XV. MVLT.XX. in a wreath.

THEODOSIVS	3rd brass	VICTORIA. AVGGG. Victory, standing, with wreath and palm branch. In exergue, SCON.
ARCADIVS	3rd brass	With exception of TR. in the exergue, the reverse is the same as the last coin.
HONORIVS	3rd brass	Same as last coin, with exception of LVGP in exergue.

Such are the coins which I can verify as having been found at Lancaster, with the exception of a few of the *minimi*, or small, barbarously-executed brass coins, either of the very latest period of the Roman rule, or immediately after the withdrawal of the legions from Britain. Mr. Dalzell possesses a number of third brass coins, totally illegible, as well as three *denarii;* and many are in other hands, equally obliterated. The coins extant, as will be seen by the list, extend from the commencement to the very close of the Roman domination in our island.

It appears to be almost certain that a Roman bridge must have existed across the Lune at Lancaster, though no vestiges of it are known to remain; and the point where the road northwards crossed the station has not been ascertained. The old bridge of two arches, the passage across which was stopped by authority, in 1801, on account of its ruinous condition, and one arch taken down, did not finally disappear until January, 1846, when the remaining arch fell down. It is said that coins of Canute were found in the arch first removed. It spanned the river opposite St. George's Quay. That the Romans would rely upon a ford, solely, is unlikely, and it is, therefore, probable that this bridge occupied the site of a Roman one.

Dr. Stukeley tells us that, "All the space of ground north of the church is full of foundations of stone buildings—Roman, I believe—and much stone has been taken up there." The irregularities in the surface of the ground in the Vicarage fields, show that his account apparently yet holds good, and there can be little doubt but that systematic excavations would reveal much that is interesting, and add another chapter to the history of Roman Lancaster.

CHAPTER VII.

OVERBOROUGH (*GALACUM*), COLNE, WIGAN (*COCCIUM*), MINOR STATIONS, CAMPS, AND MISCELLANEOUS DISCOVERIES.

The station of *Galacum*, at Overborough, had not descriptions of it, as it existed early in the last century, been preserved, would now be deemed a myth. Not a vestige of the walls, ramparts, or *fossae*, is discernible, which is accounted for by the fact of a large mansion, with its lawns and gardens occupying the site. Doubtless, numerous antiquities would be found if excavations were made in the grounds; that, however, is an eventuality not likely to occur at the present time. The whole of our information as to the *castrum* has therefore to be derived from earlier writers.

The station lay just within the county boundary, about two miles south of Kirkby Lonsdale, in Westmoreland, and occupied part of a long ridge of elevated ground between the rivers Lune and Lac; the former, running north and south, protected the western side, and the latter, running east and west, protected the southern side, falling into the Lune some distance beyond the south-west angle of the station, which was thus in the usual position on a *lingula*. Like the other Lancashire *castra*, the first antiquary who visited it in modern times was Leland (*temp.* Henry VIII.), and he says.*

> Borrow now a vyllage set in *Lunesdale*, a vi Myles beneath the Foote of *Dentdale*, hath been by likelyhood some notable Towne. The Plough menne find there yn ering, *lapides quadratos*, and many other straunge thinges; and this place is much spoken of, of the Inhabitans there.

Camden, who visited the place about A.D. 1580, thus speaks of it:—

> As soon as the *Lone* enters Lancashire, the *Lac* a little river joyns it from the east. In this place stands *Overburrow*, a small country village, but that it was formerly a great City, upon a large plot of ground between the *Lac* and the *Lone*, and being beseiged was forced to surrender by famine, is what the Inhabitants told me, who have it by tradition from their Ancestors, and certain it is, that the place makes proof of its own Antiquity, by many ancient Monuments, Inscriptions, chequer'd Pavements and Roman Coins; as also by this modern name which signifies a Burrow.

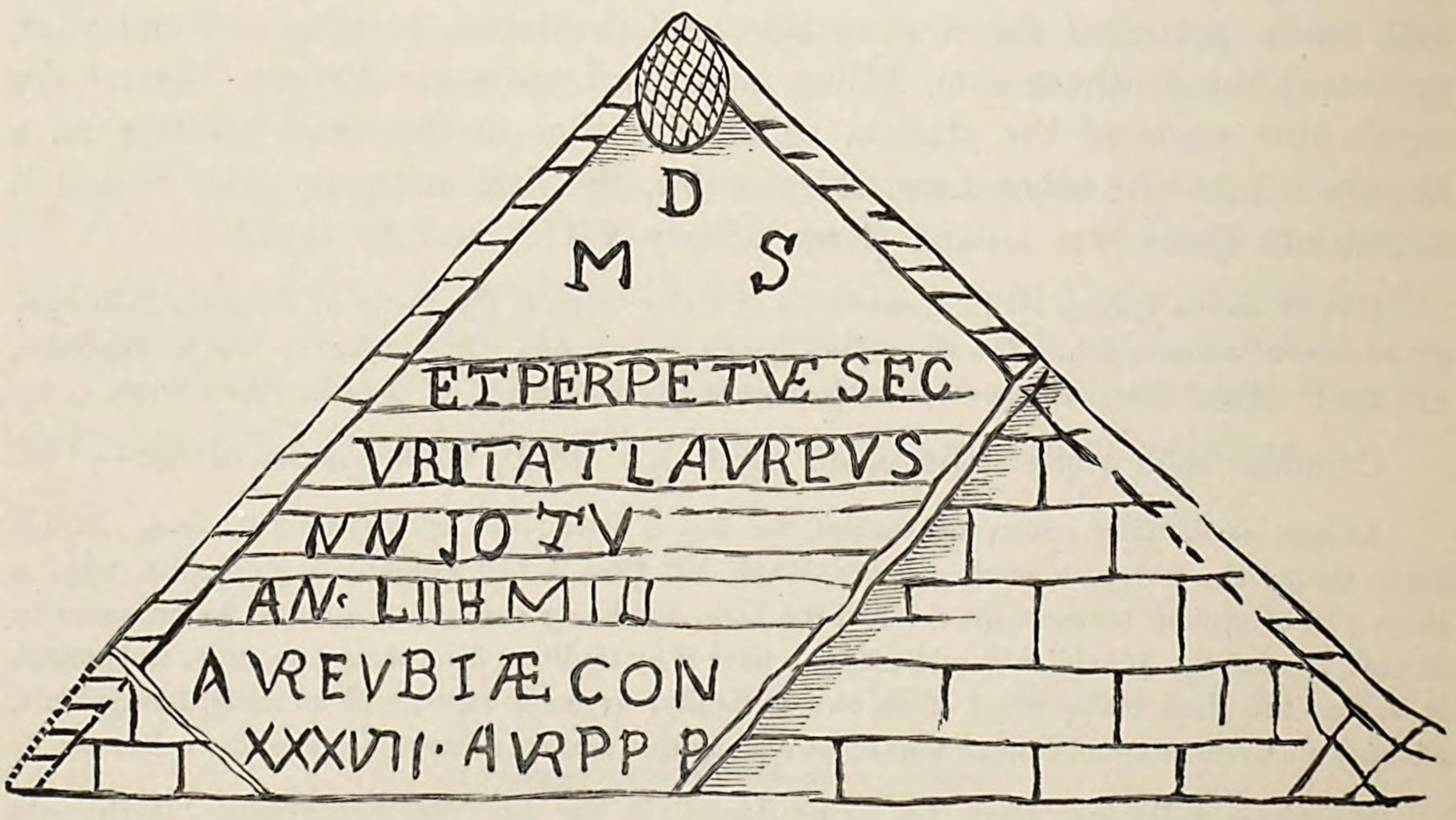
He then tells us that he considered it to be *Bremetonacum* (Gibson's

* Hearne's *Leland*, vol. vii., p. 51.

Camden, edit. 1722, p. 976.)* Why we have not copies of the inscriptions found, named by Camden, has always been a puzzle to antiquaries, as at every station where inscribed stones existed, he has preserved the inscriptions. Rauthmel in his *History of Overborough* (p. 9), conjectures that they were amongst some antiquities which Camden and Sir R. Cotton shipped in a vessel which foundered at sea, and of which there was a tradition. This is the most likely explanation.

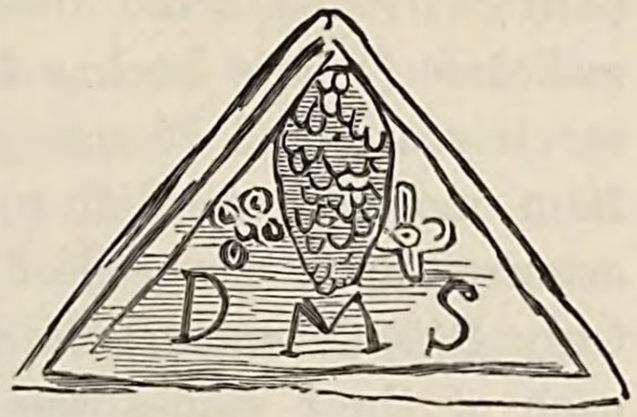
Recent researches have, however, given decisive confirmation that Camden was correct in speaking of Roman inscriptions having been found. I was lately favoured by Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., of Carlisle, with a number of extracts from the MSS. of the Rev. Thomas Machel, Rector of Kirkby Thore, at the end of the seventeenth century, and who died there in 1698. These MSS. were collected with a view to being embraced in a history of Westmoreland and Cumberland. They contain a number of unpublished Roman inscriptions, amongst which are three which came from the station at Overborough (or Over Burrow). Of two, Machel thus speaks:—

> At the Vicaridge House in Tunstall are two fragments of Roman Inscriptions, Translated hither by the late Minister, from Burrow upon Lewin (*i.e.* Lune) in y^e^ said Parish, which I have placed one upon the other for y^e^ better convenience of graveing.



* Up to the date of his 3rd edition (1590) Camden held the opinion that Ribchester was *Bremetonacum*, and Overburrow *Galacum*, from the name of the river *Lac*, but he subsequently changed his opinion, and erroneously considered the latter to be *Bremetonacum*.

Tunstall is about a mile and a half south from Overborough. The stones cannot now be found there, and have, no doubt, perished. Instead of improving upon Machel's drawings, I have thought it best to give an exact *facsimile* of them, including any errors which they may contain. In the original MS. the drawing No. 2 (annexed) is pinned to the lower right-hand corner of drawing No. 1 (given on p. 194).



The first of these inscriptions has some interesting peculiarities, and though Machel has no doubt made some errors in transcribing it, probably owing to ligulate letters, its general sense can be easily gathered. It opens with the phrase, *Dis Manibus Sacrum, et Perpetu(a)e Securitate.* "Sacred to the gods, the shades, and to perpetual safety (or security)." This is the first time that such an expression has been met with in Britain, although similar phrases occur upon the Continent, *e.g.*, "*Dis Manibus et Quieti Aeternae.*" In the fourth line the letters seem to be a misrepresentation of ANICETV(S), and have probably been followed by VIXIT., as there is a large space left vacant in the drawing. It is, of course, possible that we may read simply AN(NORVM) LII., but the space after ANICETVS would hardly be left blank. The last two lines appear to have been subsequently added. I was inclined to think that AVREVBIAE was simply a misreading of AVRELIAE, but Dr. McCaul, in a recent letter, suggests the reading, AVR . EVSEBIAE, conjecturing that Machel has omitted the letters SE., and he is probably correct. The whole inscription would then be—

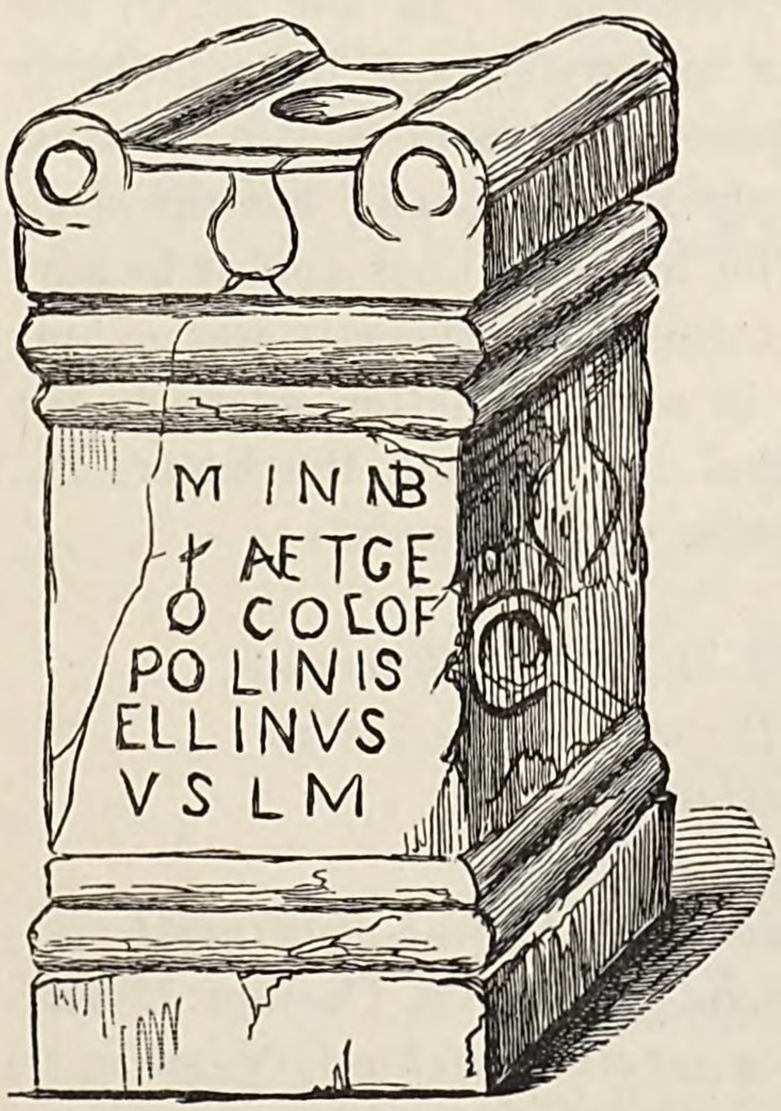
D	
M S	*D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)*
ET PERPETVE . SEC	*Et Perpetu(a)e Securitati*
VRITATI . AVRELIVS.	*Aurelius*
ANICETV(S . VIXIT)	*Anicetus Vixit*
AN . LII . H . MILI(TAVIT)	*An(nos) LII. H(ic) Mili(tavit)*
AVR . EV(SE)BIAE . CON(IVGI . V.)	*Aur(eliae) Eusebiae Conjugi V(ixit)*
(AN) XXXVII . AVR . P . P . P.	*Annos xxxvii. Aur(elius) p(ro)p(ietate) p(osuit)*

It is possible that what I have taken for I, at the end of SECURITATI, may be L, and stand for *Lucius*, the *praenomen* of Aurelius, but this would make no difference in the expansion, SECVRITAT. being a common abbreviation. In the last line Dr. McCaul suggests F.P.P. as the concluding letters, expanding them as *F(ilius) p(ie) p(osuit)*; either expansion will suit. Aurelius Anicetus,

as we gather from this inscription, lived fifty-two years, and appears to have been stationed some time at Overborough, from the use of the words *hic militavit* ("here he has fought"). Aurelia Eusebia, his wife, lived thirty-seven years, and it was probably their son, Aurelius, who put up the stone from motives of filial piety (*pro pietate posuit*). The second inscription occurred upon the head of a similar monument, the remainder being destroyed. Only *D*(*is*) *M*(*anibus*) *S*(*acrum*) remained. As will be seen by the engravings, each of these stones was surmounted by the representation of a fir-cone, a well-known Roman emblem of immortality.

A third stone is noticed in Machel's MSS. in these words:—

An altar (above a yard high) digg'd up at Kirkby in Loansdale *circa* An 1684, in a Bank by the river Leun called Abbat's Brow adjoyning the north east side of y churchyard and now lyeing in the High Street for a seat at Widdow Morris' doore. One side of the altar (which I have supplied) is broke off and lost. The 1st line seemed to be NVMINIBVS, the 4th APOLLINIS, the last VOTVM SOLVIT.



A drawing of the altar is given, from which the annexed engraving has been taken. The remaining portion of the inscription I would read as—

. . MINIB	(*Nu*)*minibus*
. . . TI ET GE	(*Augus*)*ti et*
. . O COLEGII	*Genio Colegii*
. POLINIS	*Apollinis*
ELLINVS	*Ellinus*
VSLM	*Votum Solvit Libens Merito.*

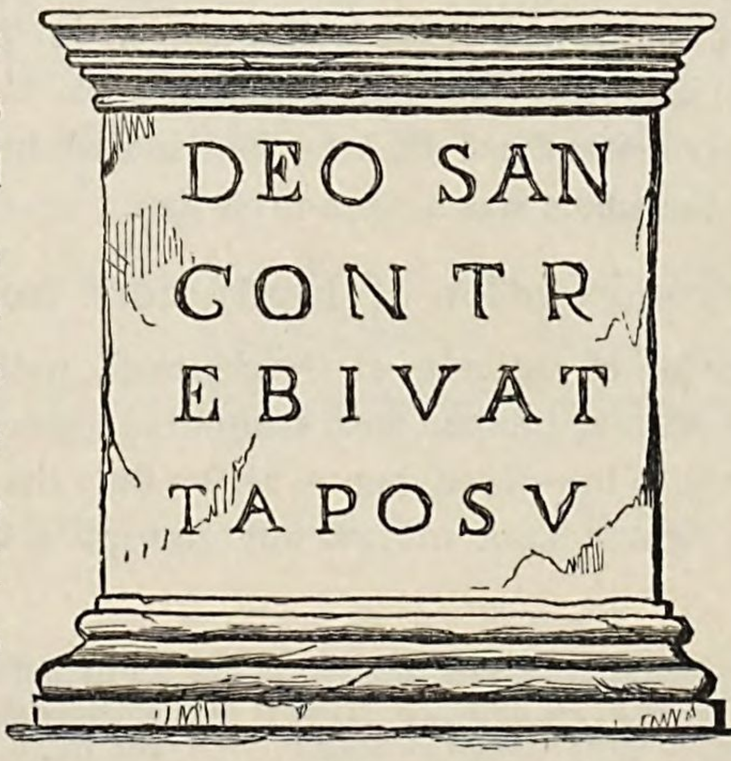
"To the divinity of the Augustus and the Genius of the College of Apollo, Ellinus performs his vow willingly to a deserving object." From the fact of the existence of a college dedicated to Apollo, it is evident that Overborough must have been a more important place than it has been generally considered. That this altar belonged to that station, only some two miles distant from Kirkby Lonsdale churchyard, seems certain. It is possible that a letter may have been broken off at the commencement of

the fifth line, and that the name of the dedicator should be BELLINVS, a name which occurs in an inscription found at Binchester. *Collegia* of various deities, as is well known, occur in Roman inscriptions, *e.g.*, in *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. iii., we have in No. 882 a college of Isis, and in No. 5657, in the same volume, we have *collegia* of Hercules and Diana named. In Britain we have an inscription naming a college of Minerva at *Bremenium* (High Rochester, in Northumberland), and another college (probably to the same goddess) is named in an inscription found at Bath.

Dr. Gale, who does not appear to have personally visited the station, says,* that "besides the name—coins, inscribed stones, and tesselated Roman pavements fix a station here." But neither coins, inscriptions, nor pavements are described, which seems to imply that he is only repeating the statements of Leland and Camden.

Horsley (1732), it is evident, did not visit Overborough. He simply adopts Camden's hypothesis as to its being *Bremetonacum*, but gives no further information.

In 1740 the mansion of the Fenwick family was built upon part of the site, and the greater part of the entrenchments levelled. Rauthmel says (1746), that the "delineation of the fortress at Overborough, on the east and south sides, are (*sic*) visible to this day, the rest is destroyed by the improvement of the place."† The excavations necessary for the erection of the house seem to have yielded nothing but some pottery. A *patera* and a *praefericulum* (?) or jug "of common baked clay," which was broken by the pickaxe of the workman, are all that are named and figured by Rauthmel (figs. 7 and 8, pl. v.) I at one time thought a coin of Vespasian must be included, but, from p. 55, I find it was discovered at Ribchester. Rauthmel while examining the neighbourhood, found, built up into an old wall, an altar, bearing upon one side the figure of a bird like an owl, and on the other side a *securis* and *secespita* were sculptured. The inscribed front I here reproduce from Rauthmel's engraving.



DEO SAN

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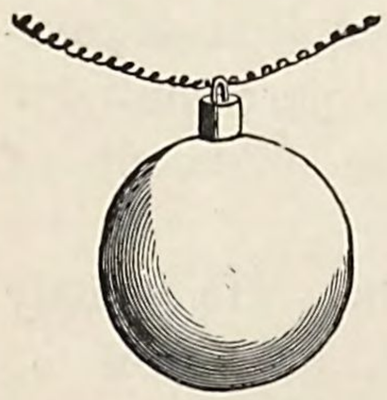
TAPOSV

* *Antonini Iter. Britanniarum* (1709), p. 119.

† *Antiquitates Bremetonacenses*, p. 15.

Various readings and expansions of this inscription have been proposed, but the latest and best is that of Professor Hübner, of Berlin, who expands it as *Deo San(cto) Contrebi V(alerius) Atta posu(it)*. Like the word CONTRE, in the altar of Jalonus, found at Lancaster, he considers the word CONTREBI to be derived from the Hispano-Roman town, named *Contrebia.** This altar came into Rauthmel's possession, but is now unfortunately lost.

A *bulla* of gold was soon after picked up on the lawn, by a lady of the Fenwick family; with the exception of that from Manchester, the only one known to have been found in England. It, too, is now lost or hidden, so that a reproduction of Rauthmel's engraving is necessary. It is apparently engraved of the actual size. Rauthmel also names a circular piece of dark purple glass, about an inch in diameter, "waved round with a white serpentine line, and perforated in the midst," as found here.



The portion of the entrenchments not levelled in 1740, probably remained until the commencement of the present century, for Britton, in 1807, says that the ramparts on the east and south sides were still visible.†

An urn, containing burnt bones, was subsequently found under the turf of the lawn, but the discoveries since 1740 have been almost *nil*.

Dr. Whitaker says—

Since his (Rauthmel's) time no addition has been made, nor was likely to be made on the site of a large dwelling house, and offices, or beneath the surface of a smooth undisturbed lawn, and I have repeatedly and vainly explored every building and hovel, every wall and loose stone about the place for an altar, inscription or fragment; nay so nearly had the tradition of an ancient city, so rife in the days of Camden and Leland, disappeared in the beginning of the nineteenth century, that a gentleman who inhabited the manor house, while he liberally gave me permission to inspect the premises, gravely assured me that he had indeed heard an idle story of some ancient city on the place, but that the whole was a mere invention.

In the second edition of Rauthmel's work (1824), it is said (p. 137):—

Of the remains of antiquity at Overborough, nothing now is visible, with the exception of the head of a pillar with a human face sculptured upon three of its sides, laying at the door of the gardens, and said to have been dug up at the time the garden ground was trenched; and a fragment of an elegantly figured stone without any inscription thereon, in the wall of a barn on the road side.

* For other readings of this inscription see Rauthmel's *Antiquitates Bremetonacenses*, p. 102; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1759, p. 407; Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, vol. ii., p. 269; Baines' *History of Lancashire*, edit. 1836, vcl. iv., p. 609; Gough's *Camden*, 1789, vol. iii., p. 140.

† *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. 9, p. 101.

A few yards to the north of the entrance to Burrow Hall, built up into a barn on the roadside, there still exists a sculptured stone, which is probably the one alluded to. It is about 2 feet in length, and 18 inches in height, and is evidently part of an ansated tablet, which has had a cable moulding around it, part of the latter being visible on the right-hand side, with a portion of one of the *ansae*. It is possible it may have borne an inscription, but, if so, it is entirely defaced.

Castercliff, the next station in point of size, and also of importance, is on the summit of a hill, bearing that name, about a mile to the south of the town of Colne. It is a parallelogram, of about 380 feet by 340, internal measurement, with the corners rounded off, as in many other Roman stations. A double *vallum* and *fosse* surround it, making the external measurement about 550 feet by 520. In addition to these, the south-west side was protected by a deep gully. Great quantities of stones, belonging to the walls and interior buildings of the station, lie about the ground, most of them half buried in the soil; but all seem in a semi-vitrified state. The *vallum* is at present about a foot high from the interior level. Several small roads communicate with the station, of which I have treated on page 86. Roman coins have occasionally been found at the foot of the hill, and several hoards within a few miles of it, (as we shall see hereafter,) but no inscription or other antiquities have been recorded as being discovered. A large number of British earthworks are in the immediate neighbourhood, and two smaller Roman forts, which I will describe immediately. From the fact of its etymology, and also from the town of Colne bearing the name of *Calna* in a charter of the time of Henry I., it has been thought by most antiquaries that the station was that called *Calunio* by the anonymous chorographer Ravennas. This is very probable, but present information neither confirms nor disproves it. It is also probable from the discoveries of single coins here and there that the suburban buildings of the station extended down to the bank of the river Calder, where modern Colne now stands. Traces of outworks are also visible between Castercliff and Colne.

Coccivm. At page 28 I have endeavoured to prove the identity of this station with Wigan, on account of the agreement of the distances between it

and Manchester, and Ribchester, with the Itinerary.* The Roman post appears to have been upon the summit of the elevation in the centre of the town, on which the Parish Church stands. Three Roman roads, from Wilderspool, from Manchester, and from Walton, converge on this point.

Mr. Sibson† says—

> Remains of the ditch and agger, by which the station at Wigan was fortified, are still visible (1836). The ditch appears to have commenced at the Douglas, near St. George's Church, to have crossed Standish-gate at the bottom of the hill, and to have gone about half way across the gardens towards the Mains. The ditch then takes a new direction and points towards the National School. Part of the old ditch is still open in the gardens, and is used as a drain. Both the ditch and the agger are very visible in the gardens near the National School. It is probable that the ditch again altered its direction, and ran along the meadows near the Hall Gate, towards the Methodist Chapel. The ditch then took a new direction and passed along King Street, where both the ditch and agger are very visible. And the ditch appears to change its direction again, and to pass near the Grammar School, across the Mill Gate to the Douglas. The Roman station was therefore on the crown of the hill on which Wigan stands, and was well supplied with water.

The Rev. A. E. P. Gray, M.A., in a paper in the *Wigan Parish Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 114 (1879), details the course of the agger more in accordance with the modern topography of Wigan, writing thus:—

> There was an agger or earth work, with a ditch outside it, running round the hill; this crossed the Standish Gate at the bottom of the hill, near the point where Dicconson Street and Church Street now meet, it followed the course of the former street, and then turning to the left crossed the Mesnes close to where New Market Street now runs; turning again it seems to have enclosed the Hall Gate, and (roughly speaking) to have gone down King Street West across the Wall Gate, and down King Street to the Free Library, where it bent northwards, and crossed the Mill Gate, where the later walls did; after this point it would naturally run along the top of the slope overlooking the Douglas as far as St. George's Church, where it turned down Church Street to the place from which we started.

The Roman road from Warrington entered the station through Wallgate, and after passing through it, left it at Standishgate, and proceeded to Walton. The modern streets bearing these names are, more or less, on the site of the Roman road. The line of the Roman road from Manchester entered the station through the Millgate, and fell upon the former road at nearly right angles in the centre of the town. Whether any Roman road proceeded westwards from Wigan is not known. The Hallgate, though on the western side of the town, is not a continuation of the street from Millgate on the east, but is much more to the south, and leads to the Hall.

* See *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii., p. 114, and vol. xxx., p. 153; and vol. xxviii. *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancashire and Cheshire*, p. 69.

† Baines' *History of Lancashire* (1836), vol. iv., p. 585.

Placed between the large stations of Ribchester and Manchester, it is unlikely that the post would have been of much importance, and it was probably only a *mansio* or *mutatio*. The discoveries have accordingly been few. In the *Liverpool Mercury*, May 26th, 1837, the following paragraph occurs:—

> A number of Roman coins, some so defaced as to be illegible, others of the reigns of Probus, Victorinus, Gallienus, and Tetricus, were dug up in removing some old stone work at Wigan, the other day.

It seems to my mind most probable that the stone work, as well as the coins, was Roman, but I have been unable to meet with anyone who remembers the discovery, although for the last ten years I have used every effort to do so.* It is remarkable that nothing was published by Mr. Sibson on the subject.† The only discovery he names is this—

> In digging the foundation for the gas works at Wigan, the workmen found a Roman urn, containing a quantity of burnt bones. Ralph Thicknesse, Esq., jun., also found in the ground near the gas works, about three feet below the surface, a piece of a Roman urn, and a quantity of calcined bones mixed with charcoal and carbonised animal matter. * * * And he found some small pieces of iron, and several pieces of Roman pottery.

Like all Roman cemeteries, this one at Wigan was outside the station, some little distance to the south-east.

About 1850, a gold coin of Vitellius (A.D. 69) was found in a field adjoining both the "Mains" (or "Mesnes") and the Roman road leading to Walton. It came first into the possession of the then Rector of Wigan (Rev. W. Gunning), and subsequently fell into the hands of R. A. Thicknesse, Esq., M.P., by whom it was presented to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, and is now preserved in one of their cases at the Free Public Museum, Liverpool. The coin, which is here engraved, bears on the obverse a laureated bust of the Emperor, looking to the left, with the legend A . VITELLIVS . IMP . GERMANICVS. on the reverse is a figure of Clemency, seated with a spear in her left hand, and a branch (probably olive), in her right. This coin, which is in fine preservation, is a rare one, Vitellius having reigned only eight months. Its weight is 113 grains, or nearly that of a sovereign, and the gold is very pure.



Actual size.

* See vol. xxviii., *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, p. 69.

† I, of course, mean in some of his papers subsequent to that in Baines' *Lancashire*.

In 1879, Mr. J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A., drew the attention of several antiquaries to what he considered to be a portion of a Roman altar, built up in Wigan Parish Church. He was also the first to allude to it in print.* Having several times inspected the stone (as far as it is possible to do so), I can confirm his view. The head only of an altar is visible, and it was found during some alterations at the church, *circa* 1847, under the communion table, being then built up into the splay of the east side of the window of the church tower, which forms the north transept. An engraving, as annexed, is the surest way of conveying an idea of its appearance.† From its being only partially visible, it is impossible to tell its exact dimensions, or whether it bears upon one of its sides a Roman inscription. On the exposed face is a half obliterated modern inscription, dated 1604.



Height, 7½in. Breadth, 17in.

Mr. Rylands has also made public‡ a passage which he met with, in an apparently anonymous letter, in the Harleian MSS. (473), to the following effect:—

> Mr. (William) Stokes (probably *circa* 1551) told me that (at) Wiggon in Lancashyre, the Church thereof was of thre sundry buyldings and repayrings, as was to him by anncyent men proved, who had seen in the last repayring thereof, fragments of idols, some of the romayn fetures and symmetry, some of the Saxons, &c.

Minor Stations. It had long been surmised that a small post must have existed at the point where the Roman road, running northwards from Wigan, crosses the Ribble at Walton, but until 1855 not a trace of it had been brought

* *Lancashire and Cheshire Historical and Genealogical Notes*, vol. ii., p. 182.

† In vol. xxxii. of *Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Cheshire*, I gave an engraving of this altar from a sketch by Mr. Rylands. The one given here is slightly altered, after personal inspection, by the engraver, Mr. Langton.

‡ *Lancashire and Cheshire Historical and Genealogical Notes*, vol. ii., p. 182.

to light. In that year some labourers, employed by the highway surveyor, commenced digging for stones and gravel in a large mound, called the "Plump," traditionally believed to cover the remains of the Scotch soldiers slain in Cromwell's victory over the Duke of Hamilton in 1648. Mr. Hardwick being then engaged on his *History of Preston*, visited the spot at once, and found that the workmen had come upon Roman remains. The excavation made at this time covered an area of nearly one hundred superficial yards, and was carried to a depth of three feet. In the original soil "a foundation wall, about eight yards long, eighteen inches broad, and nearly a foot in depth, was discovered. It is formed of irregularly shaped, but perfectly adjusted fragments of the red sandstone rock of the neighbourhood, which, from having been buried so long in the earth, has become partially disintegrated." This wall had no mortar, and was probably British, but above it was a layer of large boulders, mixed with gravel about a foot thick, "in and upon the surface of which, the Roman remains were discovered."* These consisted of five Roman coins, one of a first brass of Antoninus Pius, another a second brass of Domitian, and three others too much corroded to be deciphered, although one was probably of Vespasian. There were also several fragments of the upper stones of querns, of blue lava, and a large portion of a lower stone, a number of fragments of "Samian" ware, plain and embossed with figures, an immense number of fragments of a coarse black or bluish ware (probably made in the neighbourhood), fragments of bricks and tiles, several large lumps of fine red clay, kneaded into a paste, numerous fragments of *amphorae*, one of which, a handle, bore a potter's stamp, much worn, which Mr. Hardwick thinks is FVCRM, but which, I am inclined to think, is EVCR . M., Roman lamps found in London bear the marks EVCA. and EVCARIS, whilst at York we have EVCARPI upon a lamp in the Museum.

There were also found two necks of vases, with single handles, in common red clay, resembling some found at Wilderspool, a horn of the *bos longifrons*, fragments of two pewter vessels, several large iron nails, a small piece of copper, a small spindle whorl, and a small button or *fibula* of bronze, a little over an inch in diameter, bearing marks of chasing, and remains of purple enamel. Mr. Hardwick, by digging a small hole at the western extremity of the mound, found that the Roman remains extended fifteen yards further in that direction. The tenant of the adjoining land (a garden), had previously found many fragments of "Samian" ware, which had either been again buried, or

* *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. viii., p. 129.

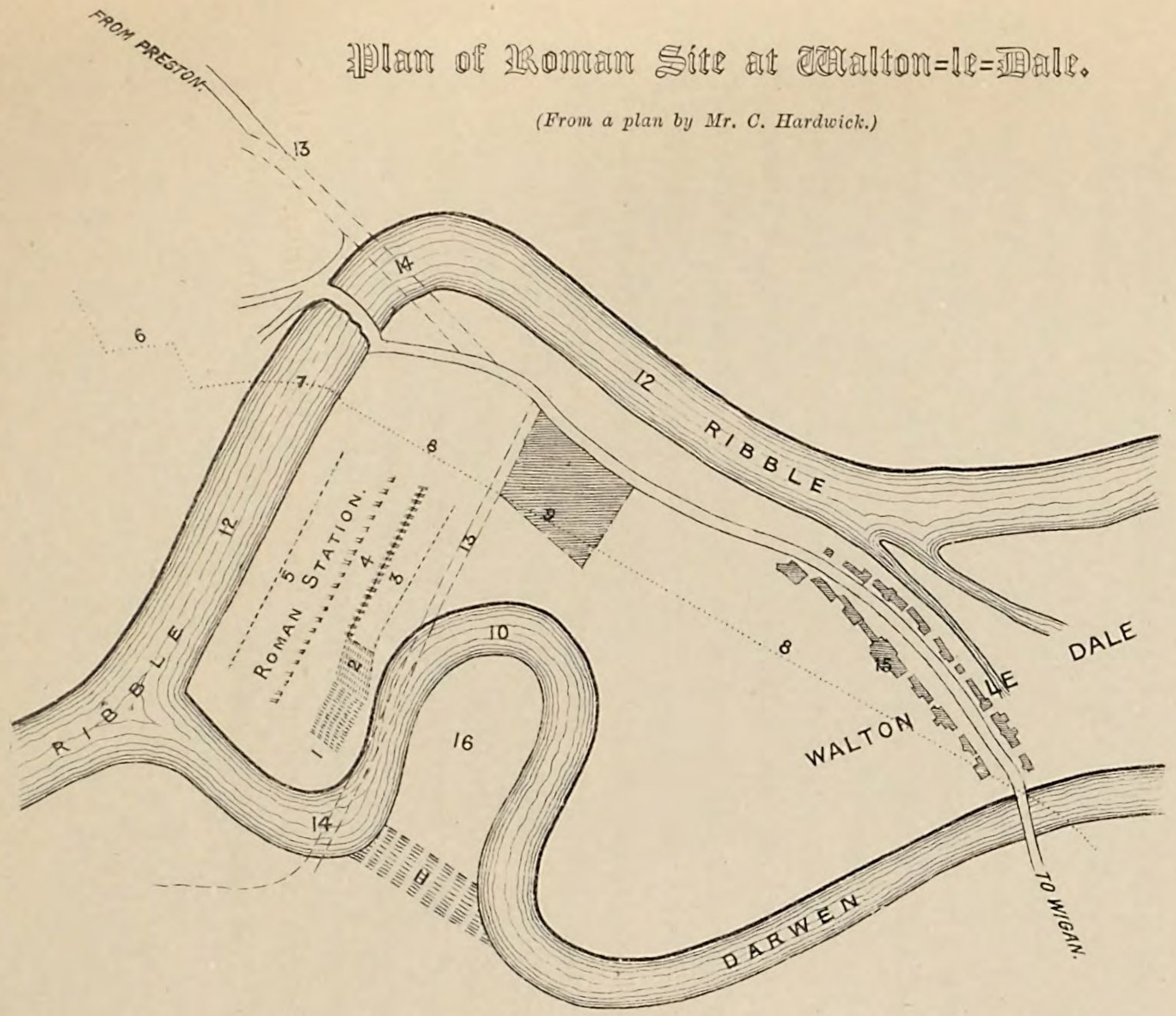
given to his children to play with, and Mr. Hardwick picked up Roman pottery at the eastern extremity of the same garden; thus showing that remains existed for at least one hundred yards from east to west. Although the ground adjoining the "Plump" has long been under cultivation as gardens, three distinct terraces are still visible, descending towards the Ribble. Soon afterwards a small *fibula* of brass, about an inch and a half long, with a circular setting of bright red enamel in the centre, and a small rod of iron, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and plated with silver, were found in Mr. Maitland's garden.

From the annexed plan of the site, by Mr. Hardwick, the reader will be better able to form an opinion of the locality of these discoveries. It will be seen that the "Plump" and the gardens named, were originally situated, like other Roman stations, on a *lingula*. But the discoveries have not been confined to this area. In the spring of 1858, a number of remains were dug up in Mr. Crozier's garden, near 150 yards south of the "Plump," on the bank of the modern course of the Darwen, at the spot marked 16 in the plan, and within the horseshoe bend of the old channel. A large space appeared covered by a dark layer of wood charcoal, in which were found several upper stones of querns, and two large fragments of lower ones, a portion of the handle of a glass *ampulla*, and the neck of a glass vase, a large quantity of fragments of Samian, Upchurch and Durobrivian ware, also pale yellow, red, and brown pottery. One fragment of a *patera* had a curious frill-like pattern, both around its base and upper edge. It was formed of red clay, coated with a thin layer of pale opaque yellow. Several fragments of roofing and bonding tiles were found, and many bones of animals were strewn about. The numismatic portion of the discovery consisted of four second brass coins, which are in the possession of Mr. Hardwick. One is of Claudius; *reverse*, CONSTANTIAE . AVGVSTI . S . C.; a helmeted figure, standing; in his left hand a spear. Another, which is of Nerva, has the inscription on the reverse obliterated with the exception of S . C., but a female figure is visible, standing with her right hand raised. The third, of Hadrian, has also the inscription on the reverse obliterated, with the exception of the word BRITANNIA in the exergue. The figure is the well-known one of Britannia, seated on a rock with a spear; S . C is also recognisable. The fourth, which is of Faustina, the younger, has the reverse entirely obliterated.

At this time some workmen informed Mr. Hardwick that on digging the foundations of a row of cottages fronting the road, in the neighbourhood of

Plan of Roman Site at Walton-le-Dale.

(From a plan by Mr. C. Hardwick.)

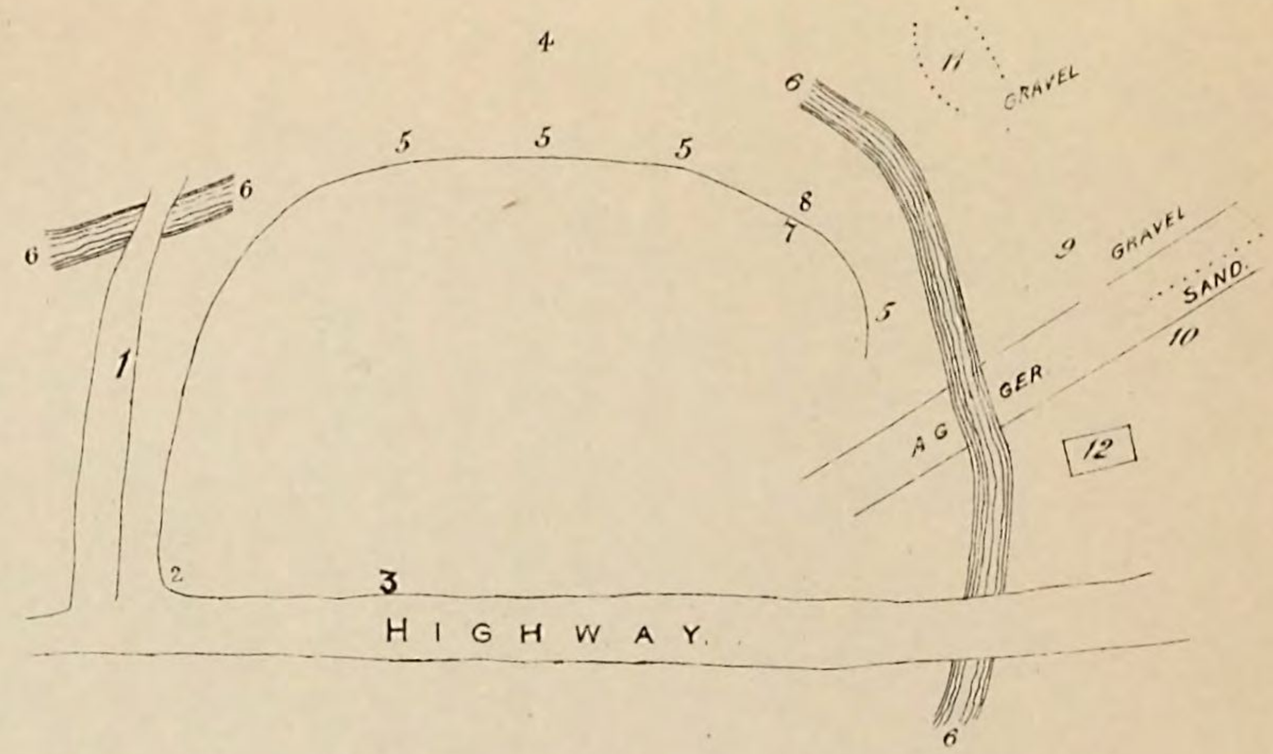


——— *The solid lines are from Robert Porter's Map, published in 1738.*

- - - - - - *The broken lines indicate modern additions.*

..... *The dotted lines indicate the Roman remains.*

1 *The "Plump" in which the Roman remains were found.*
2 *Mr. Maitland's garden, in which remains were found.*
3 4 5 *Three terraces.*
6 *Zig-zag indentation.*
7 *Large gravel bed and ford.*
8 *Supposed Roman road.*
9 *Mr. Calvert's weaving shed, in which the workmen found remains of road.*
10 *Old course of the Darwen, according to Robert Porter's Map.*
11 *Present course of the Darwen.*
12 *The Ribble.* 13 *New roads.* 14 *New bridges.*
15 *Old village of Walton-le-Dale.*
16 *Site of discoveries in* 1858.



Plan of Roman Site at Kirkham.

1 *Deep, narrow lane.*
2 *Mill.*
3 *Ruins of the fort.*
4 *Morass.*
5 *The east—the steep bank of the station.*
6 *The Dow.*
7 *Spot where the pavement of tiles was found.*
8 *Spring, where the umbo was found.*
9 *Square mound.*
10 *Urns, &c., found.*
11 *Remains of an agger.*
12 *Loxham's house.*

Mr. Calvert's mill, they came upon a very thick wall of remarkable masonry. The mortar was so hard that they only partially removed it, and in some places the foundations of the cottages rest upon it. There seems no doubt of its having been Roman.*

Several pieces of iron, large and small, one being a portion of a circular plate, with a rim of bronze, and a number of large and small nails were amongst the articles found in this second excavation.

A short time afterwards, a first brass coin of Germanicus, in good preservation, with, *obverse*, Germanicus, standing in a *quadriga* (four-horse chariot), in which is a standard. Across the upper part of the coin, GERMANICVS . CAESAR. On the *reverse* is a full-length figure, holding a standard, surmounted with an eagle, and across the coin are the words SIGNIS . RECEP . DEVICTIS . GERM. ; *i.e.*, "The standards recaptured, the Germans conquered." In the exergue is S . C. Germanicus was the son of Drusus, and nephew of Tiberius. This coin would be struck in the reign of Augustus, about A.D. 10, when Germanicus defeated the Germans in several battles, and recovered the standards which had been lost by the Roman general, Varus, some time previously.

The six-inch Ordnance Map marks a portion of a mound, with ditch, on the northern side of the station. It is, however, difficult to define.

From the coins found having been *all* of the Higher Empire, it seems to me probable that this station was erected at the time the road northward was made, for the protection of the road makers ; probably held for a century, or until the insurrection in the time of Commodus, when it may have been burnt, as the layer of ashes would seem to show, and never rebuilt, as the province, after the restoration of the Great Wall, became more settled. This would account for the scanty remains found. What was the Roman name of the place? The only station named as being in this immediate neighbourhood (except the *Portus Setantiorum)*, for which we require a site, is the *Rigodunum* of Ptolemy, and I strongly suspect this station was at Walton. The name of the river (Ribble) is, I think, a further justification of my suspicion.

As before noticed (p. 74), there has been a small Roman station at Kirkham, on the road from Ribchester to the mouth of the Wyre. That town stands on four hills, which run almost due east and west. On the second of these (from the east), which is called Mill Hill, from a windmill standing upon it, seems to have been the station, and as every vestige of its walls, ramparts, ditches, &c.,

* *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. x. p. 352.

has disappeared, we have only earlier authority to rely upon. A diagram, giving a rude plan of the position of the station, and the site of discoveries made, was published by the late Rev. W. Thornber, in vol. iii., p. 59, of *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, which it seems absolutely necessary to reproduce, and I have accordingly had it lithographed on the annexed sheet.

Large quantities of wrought stone were known to have been dug up and removed in the last century, but it was only in 1800, when Mr. Willacy, a schoolmaster, found in a small stream, adjoining a spring, called "New England Spring," (marked 8 in the diagram,) the bronze *umbo* of a shield, that attention was drawn to the antiquities of the place. The same person stated to Mr. Thornber that he had seen, during excavations for draining purposes, made by Mr. James Rogerson, at the spot marked 3, the ruins (or foundations) of a square fortress, which were of "massy chiselled red sandstone," and were at the time when laid open, pronounced Roman by judges. Mr. Thornber says that, at the spot marked 7, there must have been some erection, for he saw dug up there—

> a pavement of thick, rude, red brick tiles, and twice over, with the officers of the Ordnance survey, threw out a surprising quantity of broken tiles, paterae, burnt bones, &c. Here, too, the drainage of the encampment had its outlet into the Dow, where Mr. Loxham picked up the bone needle, and Mr. Willacy two coins of Hadrian.

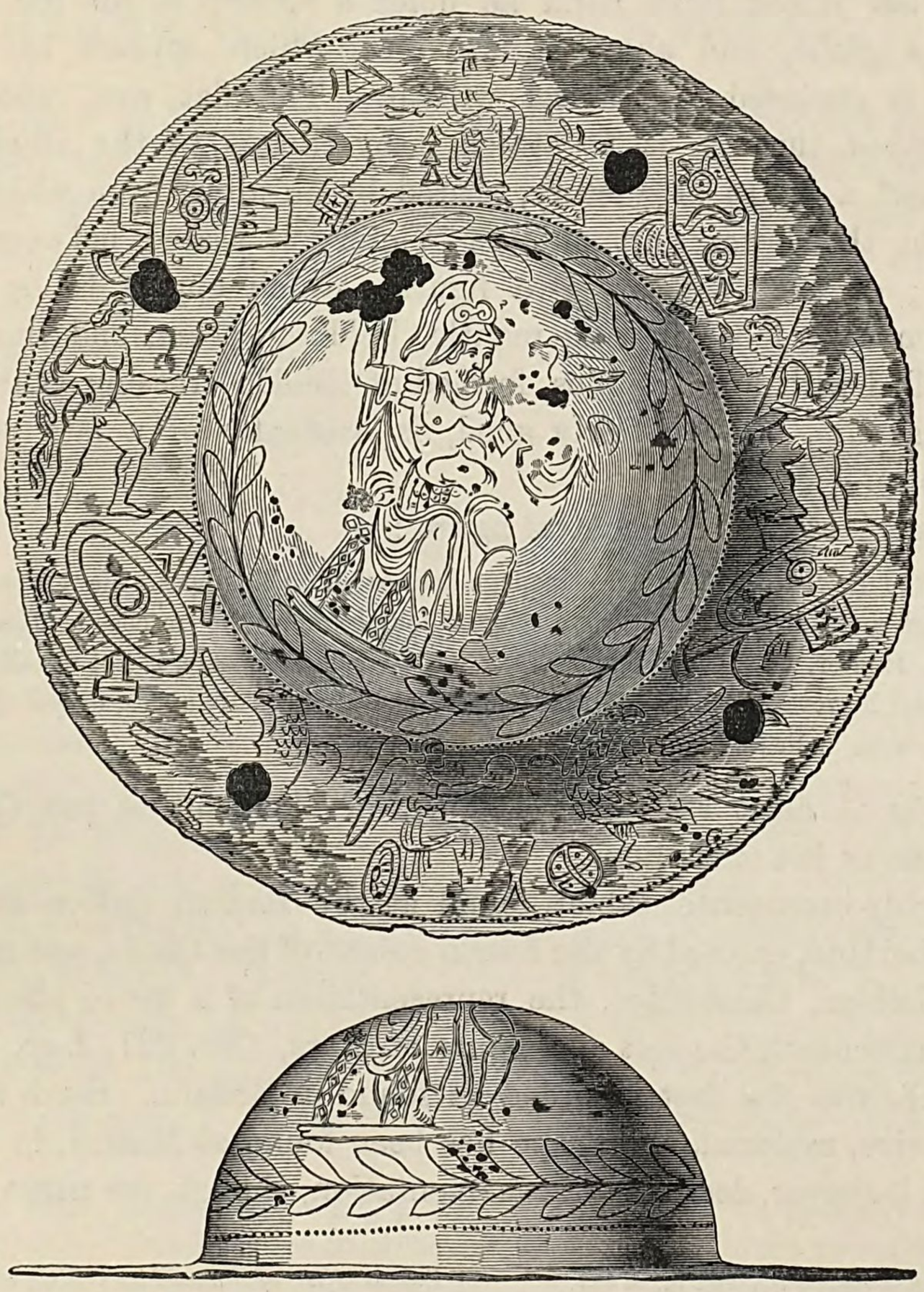
It is manifestly impossible to ascertain, without considerable excavation, how much of the summit of the hill was occupied by the station. I do not think that any considerable portion was so utilised, but Mr. Thornber says that he "never put a spade down in any part of the area that it did not disclose burnt earth, charred wood, pottery, bricks, and bones." It would seem to have been well protected by a curve of the river Dow. The late Mr. T. Langton Birley exhibited to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, on 2nd June, 1853,* a gold coin of Vespasian, found here, but no particulars of it are given, nor can I obtain them from his representatives, who know nothing of the coin. Mr. Thornber had in his possession a skull of the *Bos longifrons*, found at the station.

Below the hill, at the spot marked 9, Mr. Thornber inspected a square mound, surrounded by a trench one yard deep, which has now been levelled. One of the burial places seems to have been near the roadside, at the spot marked 10. In 1840 Mr. Loxham found here an urn containing bones, and what is described as an iron amulet, "resembling a string of pipe stoppers,"

* *Transactions*, vol. v., p. 198.

much injured by the action of fire, "perforated with three cornered holes, by which its links had been attached by a thong." Much charcoal and ashes lay around. In 1849 the same gentleman found, near this spot, during some brick-making operations, ten or a dozen urns, filled with ashes and burnt bones, which broke to pieces with the falling of the clay, none being obtained entire. They were well made, but without any ornament. A small unguent bottle was found with them. An iron *securis* or axe is also said to have been found.

The *umbo* of a shield, which I have alluded to, was when found much



"squeezed up." It was first sold to a Dr. Hunter for thirty shillings, but

came into the possession of Mr. Charles Townley, F.S.A., who presented it to the British Museum, where it is now preserved. It was first engraved and described by Dr. Whitaker,* who erroneously states that it was found at Garstang. The annexed engraving has been taken from the original, which has, through the courtesy of Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A., of the British Museum, been examined and compared with Dr. Whitaker's engraving. Though considerably oxydised the devices engraved upon it, in outline, are still visible. The centre of the convex portion is occupied by a deity or warrior, seated on an ornamental stool, wearing a helmet with a flowing crest. In his raised right hand he holds a spear; in his left is an object resembling a globe, and above it is a bird, which appears to be a goose. The whole is enclosed in a laurel wreath. The flat rim, which has four holes punctured through it, to attach it by thongs to the shield, bears on the upper part a figure of Victory, seated by an altar, from which flames are issuing. On the lower part another Victory is seated between two eagles with globes; on each side are two figures, which appear to be naked, with the exception of a loose flowing mantle, holding spears, and the intervening spaces are filled with four trophies, formed of shields crossing each other, &c.† The workmanship, though fairly good, is evidently of a late period of the Roman empire.

Mr. Franks‡ says of the central figure :—

> It is difficult to fix with certainty the personage delineated on this boss. Mars is rarely represented as seated, though a painting of his throne may be found among the frescoes at Herculaneum. On the other hand, Jupiter, whom the figure resembles in some respects, is not usually represented in armour. It may, however, be some topical form of one of these divinities, or possibly of Romulus, to whom altars were dedicated in Britain.

He thinks it most resembles a figure of Constantine the Great, on the reverse of one of his medallions.

On a highly ornamental tablet, found at the Roman station at Risingham, in Northumberland, erected by the fourth cohort of the Gauls, and now preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge, the representation of a goose also occurs, in a compartment beneath the feet of a figure of Mars, (No. 627, *Lap. Sept.*)

This *umbo* was the first recorded as found in Britain. Since then, another identical in size, material, and shape has been found at Matfen, in Northumberland. It is, however, destitute of ornamentation, though the name of the owner

* *Hist. of Richmondshire,* vol. ii., p. 457. † Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire* (1836), vol. iv., p. 377.
‡ *Archæological Journal*, vol. xv., p. 56.

appears on the rim, formed by a series of small holes drilled through it. *(Lap. Sept.*, No. 105.) A third, but of an oblong shape, with a central boss, and highly ornamented, has since been found in the sand at the bar at the mouth of the Tyne. From a punctured inscription upon it, its owner was apparently a soldier of the eighth Legion. *(Lap. Sept.*, No. 106.)

In speaking of his efforts to trace the Roman road from Kirkham westwards, Mr. Thornber says :—" It is astonishing what pavements are discovered branching towards the north-west, some of them sunk very deep in the ground." Though perhaps not of great extent, the station seems to have been of some importance as a centre, but its name cannot yet be ascertained.

In the chapter on the roads of the county, I have described (p. 47) a small one, branching from that between Wigan and Manchester, which passes through the village of Blackrode. At this place the Rev. J. Watson and Mr. Thomas Percival *(Archæologia*, vol. i.) inform us that a small station existed. The latter gentleman states (p. 71) that " urns, coins, hinges, horse shoes, and iron utensils are said by the country people to have been found, and a middle-sized fort is yet to be seen, though, from the short view I had of it, I suspect that fort only covers one angle of the city, and the city to be much larger ; but I had not then time to trace out the whole." Both these authors fix the site at a place called the " Castle Croft," at the south-eastern extremity of the village, about half an acre in extent. The Rev. J. Whitaker says,* that there was " the tradition of a castle upon it, and the evident remains of ditches around it ;" whilst, a few pages further on,† he says the remains there " are only those of a small modern castle." He rejects the " Castle Croft " as the site of a station, which he says " cannot have been on this side of the village at all. It was assuredly on the other, and upon the lofty bank of the river." He accordingly places a station, though no remains were visible to the eye, and nothing had been discovered on the site, in a curve of the river Douglas, where a brook falls into it, forming a *lingula*. Though this place is well adapted for a Roman station, it is certain that none ever existed, except in the imagination of Whitaker.‡ Whether any small Roman post ever stood in the " Castle Croft " is still an open question ; certainly no remains have been found since Whitaker's time,

* *History of Manchester*, vol. i., p. 157. † *Ibid*, p. 165.

‡ The Rev. E. Sibson (Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire*, vol. iii., p. 586) says, " There are not any vestiges either of a Roman station or even of a Roman road in the fields called the Rie-hay and the Smithy-field, where Mr. Whitaker places the station at Blackrode. Nor have any Roman antiquities been found at Blackrode, except that in Castle Croft, on the summit of the hill at Blackrode, there appears to have been a small fortress of observation."

though it is quite possible an outpost may have been there. All three of these writers give the name of *Coccium* to their respective sites of the station. Blackrode is four to five miles north-east of Wigan.

From the fact of coins, fragments of Roman pottery, and funeral urns, with burnt bones, having been occasionally found at Burnley, there would appear to have been a small post there.* It is situated on a *lingula* at the junction of the Burn (or Brun) with the Calder, and, as before seen (p. 86), a Roman road passed the site.

About 2¼ miles from Burnley, almost due east, there exist, upon Worsthorne Moor, the undoubted remains of a small walled station, with a Roman road leading to it. (See *ante*, p. 86.) It is known locally as "Ringstones Camp." The *angles* of the fort face the points of the compass, the lower portions of the walls are traceable round the whole area, although completely embedded in earth and long grass. They are about 15 inches above the interior level. The *fosse* is also traceable. The measurements of this camp I found to be,—from the N. angle to the E. angle, 120 feet; from the N. angle to the gate on the N.W. side, 73 feet; from the N.W. gate to the W. angle, 77 feet; from the W. angle to the S. angle, 107½ feet; from the S. angle to the gateway on the S.E. side, 66 feet; from this gateway to the E. angle, 51½ feet. Ruins of buildings are visible within the fort, especially on the south-western side, near the south angle, where they stand some 5 feet high, but buried in soil. There are also at this angle the remains of a tower, buried in a mound of rubbish, and on the south-eastern side, near the east angle, are the remains of an exterior building or tower, joining the main wall. This building is 49 feet square. The gateways are evidently those called the Praetorian and Decuman gates, and they are nearly opposite each other.†

A short distance beyond the north angle of the fort there is a steep and precipitous descent to the valley beneath, through which runs "Swinden Water," and here are the reservoirs of the Burnley Waterworks. Several heaps of stones which lie around the fort are probably *tumuli*. Some of them have been apparently opened, but the only examination recorded is in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxx., p. 553, where Mr. Studley Martin describes his exploration of one of these heaps on 17th April, 1843. It was scarcely raised above the turf, and the stones were rough, irregular, and moss-grown.

* *History of Whalley*, (2nd edit.) p. 322.

† *Ibid.* (3rd edit.), pp. 375-6.

The latter formed a rude circle eight yards diameter from east to west, and six yards from north to south. Exactly in the centre of the heap, about a yard below the surface, under some fine sand, and covered with a stone, was an urn of coarse material filled with ashes, and the burnt bones of a muscular man. Round the urn was a sort of wall of stone, filled up with peat or clay, the cardinal points being marked by larger stones. The whole area of the heap was examined, but nothing further found. This interment was probably Romano-British, but unfortunately no description of the urn has been preserved by which we could judge. A larger mound, a little to the south-east of the fort, has long been considered a beacon, which is, to say the least, very doubtful.

About half a mile distant, on the summit of the hill, called "Twist Hill," rising from the opposite bank of "Swinden Water," is another similar fort. The *fosse* is completely filled up, but the lower parts of the walls are equally, if not more plainly, visible than those at Ringstones. This second fort bears the name "Twist Castle," and is about 154 feet square. Two gateways are visible opposite to each other, but no road is traceable to them. In this camp the *sides* face the cardinal points, and at the south-east angle is the foundation of a building sixty feet square. Several *tumuli* of loose stones are visible on the east and north-east; and a little to the eastward also is a circular entrenchment, 58 yards in diameter. I narrowly scrutinised every stone in the neighbourhood of these forts, but could find nothing inscribed. Many stones were dressed in a manner unmistakeably Roman, and others bore the appearance of tombstones, though if they had ever borne inscriptions the latter had long since vanished. Most of the fields in this locality are divided by walls, instead of hedges, and the number of dressed stones thus worked up is very great. It is evident that all the larger stones of the forts and the buildings they contained have been laid under contribution for ages. No coins or other antiquities are recorded to have been found, but as the soil has not been disturbed for centuries, it is unlikely that anything would be discovered above ground. Excavations only can reveal their treasures, whether numismatic, epigraphic, or architectural. That much lies buried, the uneven surface of the ground is sufficient to show. These two forts, I opine, will be amongst those mentioned as being in this part of the country by the anonymous Chorographer, Ravennas, but rather than wildly speculate as to names, we must await further discoveries before identifying them.

From the course of the Roman road crossing Blackstone Edge, which (as before said) he avers passed close by Rochdale and through Littleborough, the Rev. J. Whitaker came to the conclusion that a Roman station existed at the latter place. His words are* :—

> And the camp at Littleborough gave denomination to the village, and seems to have been fixed upon the ground which is about half a mile to the east of it, immediately on the left of the new road, and popularly denominated Castle. This is directly under the steep of Blackstone Edge, nearly adjoining to the course of the Roman road, and upon the margin of a brisk stream. And the fortification which gave name to the ground is of so antient a date that the remains of it have vanished from the eye, and tradition has forgotten its existence.

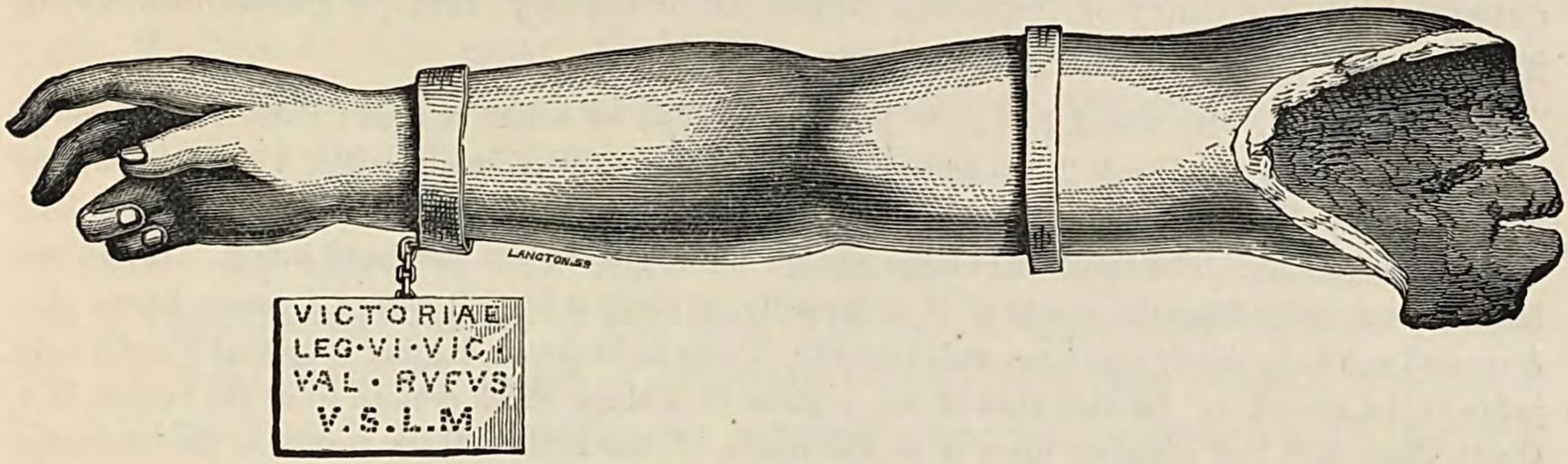
It will at once be seen that this is mere supposition. But Dr. Whitaker, in his *History of Whalley*, also supposes this place, named "Castle," to be the site of a station; and both he and Baines† improve upon the elder Whitaker's statement by saying, that "the remains of the Roman camp have, at the end of fifteen centuries, nearly disappeared, but the site of the works rears its lofty front a little to the east of the village, and bears on its summit the ancient mansion of Windy Bank." An examination of this site did not reveal the slightest trace of either camp or entrenchments of any kind, nor has any record or tradition been preserved of such; no vestiges of Roman occupation, in the form of broken pottery, &c., are to be seen in the soil, and no coins or other remains have ever been found. Couple these facts with Whitaker's suppositious statements, and the existence of a station here, if not a myth, is certainly "without the range of practical archæology."

It is to be noted, however, that when the "Town House" (an old house at Littleborough) was rebuilt, early in this century, several Roman coins and a number of Roman tiles were found beneath it. John Molesworth, Esq., the present occupier, had for a long time in his possession two *denarii*, which he gave away many years ago, but he cannot remember of which reigns they were. He cannot say what became of the remainder of the coins and the tiles, as they were found when he was very young.

Though hoards of coins (as we shall presently see) have been found within a few miles of Littleborough, the most interesting discovery in the neighbourhood occurred in 1801 at Tunshill, in the parish of Butterworth. Some labourers at work in a slate quarry, on the property of Robert Beswick, Esq., of Pike House, came upon the representation of a human right arm and hand, 9½ inches in

* *History of Manchester*, vol. i., p. 232. † *History of Lancashire*, vol. ii., p. 645 (1836 edit.)

length, and weighing 6 oz., formed of pure silver. This relic came into the possession of Dr. Whitaker, from whom it has descended to his grand-daughter, Mrs. Guthrie, of Trewyn, near Abergavenny, where it is now preserved.



The hand is solid, the arm hollow, and the execution of both excellent. On the inside of the thumb a piece of solder remains, which renders it probable that the figure held a wreath or chaplet in the hand. An annulet of silver surrounds the arm above the elbow—it is not a separate piece, but one with the arm—and another is fastened round the wrist, from which hangs a silver plate, bearing this inscription, drilled in small holes through it :—

VICTORIAE	*Victoriae*
LEG. VI. VIC.	*Leg(ionis) Sextae Vic(tricis)*
VAL. RVFVS	*Val(erius) Rufus*
V. S. L. M.	*V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

"To Victory of the Sixth Legion the Victorious. Valerius Rufus performs his vow willingly, to a deserving object." The arm has evidently been a portion of a statue of Victory, which it is calculated, to be in proportion with it, would be about 2 feet high.* One would have thought that, after its long rest, this fragment of antiquity had for ever escaped from the effect of "war's alarms." But it was not to be so. Its present owner was residing in Paris when the German army appeared before that city in 1870, and it was only two days before the complete investment that she was able to escape. This relic, with other valuables, she took with her; and thus, after the lapse of sixteen centuries, it was again brought into the presence of hostile armies.

* See *Gent. Mag.*, January, 1802, pp. 9, 17, and 45; also *History of Whalley*, p. 32, and pl. **1**; Baines' *History of Lancashire* (1836), vol. ii., p. 645; *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 112, No 52*a*; Henzen's *Orelli*, No. 5825; *Corpus Inscr. Latin*, vol. vii., No. 217.

There appears to have been a small Roman outpost about twelve miles due north of Liverpool. For the knowledge of its existence we are indebted to the Rev. T. E. Gibson, of Southport, who has recently published* the following extract from the diary of Nicholas Blundell, of Crosby, Esq., a gentleman living in the first quarter of the last century :—

1721, Augt 28. My wife & I went to lodge at Astley; we called at Fran: Farers. He showed me a place in his ground were 'tis supposed there formerly stood a small castle, & in taking up the foundation (for that was all as was left of it) he found a large Mugg Bottle which I suppose held about three gallons. The mouth was large enough for a girl to put her hand into it. It had two large bows as came from the mouth of it to the belly, to carry it by. It was of a coarse brown clay & seemed not to be nicely made nor well burned. T'was so broke in digging it up that I could only judge at the size of it. He also shewed me a piece of a Mugg which seemed to be the bottom of a Quart Jugg and had stamped upon it in the inside of the bottom these words in the character OF BASSI. It was made of extraordinary good mug metal & was, where it was broke, as red as the best sealing wax. The outside was not so clear a red. The bottom was about the thickness of half a crown; the sides considerably thinner. The bottle was about an inch thick. He also showed me some pieces of tile which were of a very red colour & of a much better metal than any of our brick tiles are now made of & very well burned. Some were five inches & some almost four inches as I guess, were broken into such small piece, (that) one could not tell how many inches square they were.

From this extract, *per se*, it would be impossible to judge of the exact locality where these remains were found; but by a comparison of another entry in the same diary, dated June 17th, 1722, with a tombstone in Halsall Church, and a list of recusants for 1680, Mr. Gibson has clearly established† the fact that Francis Farrer lived at Downholland, and consequently that it was there the discovery took place. No other discoveries of Roman remains are known to have occurred at Downholland. Mr. Gibson, though he lived twenty years in the immediate vicinity, never heard of such. He supposes, and with great probability, that most likely the site of this small *castellum* "would be the crest of the eminence over which the Liverpool and Southport road now passes. It is true that the land rises only slightly, but quite sufficiently to command all the neighbouring flat country." The large vessel with handles, named by Mr. Blundell, was evidently an *amphora* or wine jar; the vessel, "as red as the best sealing wax" where broken, was of "Samian" ware. The brilliant red of this ware is well described by Mr. Blundell. I should opine it was the bottom of a bowl. In the British Museum there are four examples of the stamp OF. BASSI., all found in London. The same stamp has been found at Exeter and other places. In London, also,

* *Lancashire and Cheshire Historical and Genealogical Notes*, vol. ii., p. 223. † *Ibid.*, p. 227.

three examples of BASSI. simply, have been found. Bassus seems, therefore, to have been an eminent potter.

The question arises, Was there any Roman road in this neighbourhood? A straight line, or nearly so, from this point to the ferry over the river Mersey, from Widnes to the camp at Halton, would pass through a place called "Windy Harbour," near Cunscough, by Tarbock (where a find of coins occurred), and through Ditton (coins, &c., found).

About 3¼ miles to the N.E. of Cartmel, in Upper Allithwaite, there exists, opposite the mouth of the river Winster, a remarkable isolated conical hill (or rock), formerly called "Atterpile Castle," but now bearing the name of "Castlehead," undoubtedly an ancient site, but whether held by the Romans as a fortified post, cannot be said with certainty. It had in the last century the appearance of a rough neglected wood, but about 1785, the late J. Wilkinson, Esq., the great ironmaster, transformed it into an ornamental ground. Wherever the depth of soil was sufficient, trees and shrubs were planted, and a number of pathways, &c., were cut in the rock. In making these alterations, numerous antiquities were found, including seventy-five Roman coins, rings of silver, brass, and iron; beads of blue ragstone, lead, clay, and glass; a stone, supposed to have been a mould for casting silver rings; iron ore; boars' tusks; bones of deer; teeth of buffaloes and other animals; and portions of a human skeleton. There were also ninety-five stycas of the Northumbrian kings.* Of what date the Roman coins were, no account has been preserved. From the apparent absence of other articles of strictly Roman manufacture, the spot may not have been occupied until Saxon times, as Roman coins were in circulation for some centuries after the withdrawal of the Roman forces. The stycas prove Saxon occupation. A small urn, containing calcined bones, was found in "Yew Tree Field," in Allithwaite, in 1834.

When tracing the Roman road through Furness, Mr. West, in 1775, found that there was a ditch and rampart on the east side of the churchyard of Dalton, which is built upon a slight elevation, according to his idea the site of a small Roman station, defended on the south and west by steep precipices, and supplied with water by a brook which flowed at its base.

* See Baines' *History of Lancashire* (1836), vol. iv., p. 717. Also Lewis's *Top. Dict. of England*, article, "Upper Allithwaite."

This elevated mound he deemed artificial, but subsequent examination has not confirmed the idea. That a rampart and ditch existed there can be no doubt, but if they were Roman relics, they could only have belonged to a temporary camp. He appears to have found, what he called part of a leaden aqueduct with numerous small branches, within the area of an ancient building, containing one or more baths, in a meadow near "Park Farm."* Whitaker writes to him from Manchester† on 16th October, 1775, thus:—

> The recent discoveries in Dalton churchyard strikingly confirm your printed account. A Roman station was certainly there, the pointing of the road and the cement of the walls decisively shew it. But cannot you trace the walls or the ditch? and if you can, of what dimensions is the area? The foundation of the hypocaust I shall be glad to hear more of. This is too curious and too rare a part of Roman British antiquities to be past (*sic*) over slightly. As to the conical building, I have no doubt it was a furnace, as you suppose, though I have never met with anything of the kind before, and the position of it must give it to the Romans I think, unless it was within the area of the station, and in that case it must be later, I apprehend.

This extract would appear to suggest that other remains than those described in print, by West were found, but it is more than doubtful whether they were Roman. In 1879, workmen, digging for stone in this "Park Farm," came upon stone foundations, laid upon massive pieces of oak, presumed to be those of the buildings named by West. Some other remains found, including a quantity of slag or smelting refuse, some pure lead ore, a carved bronze key, a mason's pencil, &c., were at the time thought to indicate Roman occupation, but Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., informs me that from personal inspection he can pronounce them mediæval, as many of the stones in the walls bear mason's marks, identical with those on the stones at Furness Abbey. The statement as to the existence of a station at Dalton is, therefore, still hypothetical. About half a mile from the town, however, at Elliscales, Roman coins (of what date cannot now be ascertained) have been found, ten inches beneath the surface, and on an eminence to the north of the village of Urswick, about two miles east of Dalton, the foundations exist of a rectilinear fort, of which three of the sides measured 67 yards each, and the fourth 52 yards. Its walls appear to have been composed of loose stones, and have been ten feet in thickness. The south side of the enclosure has two gateways, or openings. About twenty yards to the north-west of this enclosure is another circular-walled plot of ground, about 95 yards in diameter, and divided into compartments by interior walls. The "Stone Walls" is simply the name given to

* *Hist. of Furness*, p. 9. Gough's *Camden* (edit. 1789), vol. iii., p. 142. Lewis's *Top. Dict. of England*, article, "Dalton-in-Furness."

† In a letter now in my possession.

these enclosures in the neighbourhood. The former may be Romano-British, but I am inclined to think them both pre-Roman. In 1774, whilst cleansing a ditch, 150 yards N.E. of Urswick Church, a bronze tripodal vessel was found, weighing 3lb. 2oz., somewhat like a modern coffee-pot, and capable of holding 1½ pints. It resembled some of the Roman camp kettles found elsewhere. In 1798, a silver coin of the Emperor Otho was found in an orchard in Little Urswick. It was much obliterated, but the reverse seemed to be "SECVRITAS P. R.; a female, holding the *hasta* in one hand, and a wreath in the other."* The inhabitants have a tradition that a town lies beneath the waters of a neighbouring tarn. This, however, is a legend held by the country people in many places in the kingdom.

In all probability there was a Roman post, now either overwhelmed by the sea, or buried beneath alluvial soil, near the mouth of the river Keer. Baines's description of this neighbourhood is not very clear, but he says† :—

> Carnforth is the south-western township of the parish of Warton and is chiefly remarkable as the scene of a great aquatic depredation, several hundred acres of the salt marsh adjoining the south bank of the Keer having been washed away within the last century. One of the effects of the removal of the alluvial soil has been to exhibit a kind of subterraneous shipyard, in which large quantities of timber, some unwrought, and others partly formed into vessels, have been discovered.

The same author also says‡ :—

> A small bay between Lindeth and Warton receiving a rivulet from the eminences east of Silverdale is called Quicksand Pool, where in 1832 the remains of a dock were discovered which had been formed of large quantities of timber and stone that covered about an acre in space. The roots of trees are perceptible on the sands at low water between the mouths of the Keer and Quicksand Pool.

Whether these are separate discoveries, or are different descriptions of the same remains, it is difficult to say. Certainly the only relic now visible, or known amongst the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, is the dock. This is in the shape of an ordinary pie dish, or oval, with flattened ends. Its longer diameter (nearly due E. and W.) is about 200 yards, its shorter one about 100 yards, and it is on the north bank of the Keer. At the south-eastern corner there is a channel leading from it southwards to the river Keer, out of which channel again, on its eastern side, is another, leading into what appears to have been an extensive roadstead for vessels waiting to come into the dock, but which is now a large field. The present average depth of the dock is from

* Gough's *Camden* (1789), vol. iii., p. 143. Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire* (1836), vol. iv., pp. 627, 651.
† *Hist. of Lancashire*, vol. iv. (1836), p. 584. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 570.

30 to 40 feet. Its bottom is covered with grass, interspersed with thorn and reeds. The channel leading from it was evidently of the same depth, though in portions of it the earth has since accumulated. About the middle of the north side of the dock there is some modern stonework, surmounting a farmyard drain. It is on the right-hand side of the road from Lancaster to Burton, and in the parish of Warton. The farm on which it is situated is called "Dock Acre Farm." A correspondent of the *Guardian* (London) says of it (November, 1873), that "the steps down to it were extant a few years ago, and an anchor was found in it." It is now nearly two miles from the sea, but it is evident that the latter has, at a remote period, come up to it. The dock is about three-quarters of a mile from Borwick Hall; and the Roman road from Lancaster to Natland must have passed within a short distance of it, though not now visible. I am indebted to the Rev. W. M. Shaw, of Yealand Conyers, for much assistance in examining this dock.

There is in Lancashire, as in the surrounding counties (except Yorkshire), a remarkable absence of the remains of Roman villas. Unless the site of Hornby Castle has been so occupied, there are no traces of a villa within the county. This castle stands upon an abrupt conical-shaped rock, with the river Wenning running at its base, and upon a *lingula* formed by that river and the Lune; their confluence being about a mile distant. Dr. Whitaker, in his *History of Richmondshire* (vol. ii., p. 250), says of this site :—

> For by them (the Romans) it was unquestionably occupied, as the Roman coins lately found in digging among the ruins, and the remains of a brick pavement sufficiently prove. Of the former, beside many of the small brass, much defaced, I have seen a very fair middle brass of the first Antoninus. It was probably the villa of some wealthy provincial.

Recent alterations and additions to the castle have not, as far as I have been able to gather, yielded any further discoveries.

Camps. Very few vestiges of temporary Roman camps remain in the county. At Mellor, about 2½ miles N.N.W. of Blackburn, on the summit of the highest ground in the neighbourhood, the well-defined outlines of a small rectangular intrenchment may be seen. It is about 33 yards in length from E. to W., and about 25 yards from N. to S. The ditch and rampart are visible all round, though the former is partially filled up, and its sides face the cardinal points. It would appear to have been a mere outpost to

Ribchester, probably for the purpose of signalling. Ribchester Church (which stands in the middle of the station at that place) is visible from it, but by moving about 100 yards either to the east or west it is completely hidden, whilst moving only a few yards to the south produces the same result. Mr. D. Geddes, of Blackburn, has in his possession two oaken pegs, about eight inches in length, similar to those used in holding the framework of wood buildings together, obtained from an excavation four feet in depth, which he made in the area; but no other discoveries are reported. The intrenchment lies on the north side of the road from Wilpshire railway station to Mellor, 150 yards from it, and is, as far as I could judge, a mile to the west of the Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester.*

About a mile to the west of Whalley, on the south side of the Calder, in a meadow, named "Castle Holme," are the remains of a small camp, or the site of a rectangular building, 70 feet square. The ramparts are five feet above the surrounding ground, facing the cardinal points, and there is no trace of a ditch, probably owing to the remains standing on a small artificial mound, raised above the level of the morass around. A good deal of stone is lying about. It may have been a post for securing the passage of the river Calder, as it is placed between two fords—Chew Mill Ford and Potterford. Over the first passed the Roman road from Castercliff and Portfield, and the road from Ribchester towards Skipton passed over the second.

Dr. Kuerden, in vol. iv. of his MSS., asserts that "the Romans left a castle in existence at Mellor and Blagborne, and a station at Billington, in 448." The elder Whitaker also states that a Roman castle remained at Blackburn until the Saxon era. There can be little doubt but that this is an error. Nothing Roman, such as foundations, coins, &c., has ever been recorded as found at Blackburn, and as to the camp at Billington, it is the same as that which I have described at Langho. Near this latter, a coin of Hadrian (of what metal is not stated) was found in 1831. *Rev.:* "PIETAS . AVG. Piety standing to the left before an altar." †

At Portfield, rather over a mile W.S.W. from Whalley, and on the crest of a spur from Pendle Hill, there are faint traces of a considerable encampment,

* See also Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire*, vol. iii., p. 360; Abram's *Hist. of Blackburn*, p. 22.

† Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire* (1836), vol. iii., p. 340; Whittle's *Blackburn as it is*, p. 310.

of which the figure has been a trapezium. The N. and E. sides are plainly visible, with a double rampart and fosse, rectilinear, but with the angles rounded off. A sandbank, which is very precipitous, forms the western side, and in the bottom of the fosse, on the south side, there is a road, which has much obliterated the outline. "Whatever it may have been," says Dr. Whitaker, "it was conveyed by Peter de Cestria, rector of Whalley, more than five centuries ago, by the name of Le Castell."* It adjoined an old mansion named "Portfield," taken down in the last century. No discoveries are known to have been made within it. The late Mr. T. T. Wilkinson† proposed to identify this camp with the *Gallunio* of Ravennas; but I think it will prove to be nothing more than a summer camp dependent upon Ribchester, or an early temporary camp, possibly occupied whilst Ribchester was in course of erection.

There lately existed, about three miles west of Manchester, at a spot known as "Camp Field," and midway between the Salford cemetery and Little Bolton, the nearly-obliterated outlines of a rampart and fosse, enclosing on three sides a parallelogram, 250 yards from N.W. to S.E., by 150 from N.E. to S.W.

It is doubtful whether the fourth side (the western) was ever so protected, as there is a very steep natural slope of about 40 feet to the flat ground on the bank of the River Irwell, from which it is distant about 150 yards. The north side is further protected by a brook, the intrenchment as usual lying on a *lingula*, formed by this brook and the river. At the southern angle, there is a nearly-circular hollow, which, if the place had been walled, would give the idea of the foundations of a tower having been taken up; but this is out of the question, though it is possible an earthen bastion may have been destroyed at this point. The area of the excavation is too large, however, for the removal of the bastion simply. No traces of gateways could be detected, though a depression on the east may have marked the site of one. No Roman remains are recorded as having been found here, though the Roman road, which branched from that to Wigan at Gorton (Derby Road) Bridge, bearing towards Warrington, must have passed in the immediate neighbourhood, if indeed it did not point direct to the entrenchment; but its course has not been traced. I must therefore candidly own, that at present there is no evidence that the entrenchment was Roman, though the probability is that it was so. At some later period three large excavations were made on the western

* *History of Whalley* (2nd edit.), p. 252. † *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. xvii, p. 268.

side, extending about 180 feet from the bank above the river into the area, 14 feet deep, and 75 feet wide at the surface, with sloping banks; but into a description of these it is not my province to enter. They are evidently not Roman, and may possibly be of a comparatively recent period. It is not known how long the name of "Camp Field" has been applied to the ground. I am indebted to Mr. E. Kirk, of Eccles, for much information as to this spot. Within the last twelve months, the northern half of the area has been completely destroyed, and two of the excavations named, filled up, in order to erect buildings for the sewage works of the Corporation of Salford.

According to *Lewis's Topographical Dictionary*,* remains of a Roman camp existed at Whitewell, about 15 miles N.N.E. of Preston. If such were ever visible, they seem now to have disappeared. From personal examination of the neighbourhood, and from extensive enquiry, I can gather nothing as to them. The Rev. F. E. Perrin (now Rector of Ribchester), who was resident some time in the neighbourhood, also informs me that Lewis's statement has no foundation in fact.

The elder Whitaker† gives particulars of what he considered to be four small Roman camps for the protection of the cattle of the Mancunian garrison, situated in the Irwell valley, and all within five miles of *Mancunium*. One of these was at Hillwood (or Hylewood), in the township of Pendleton. Whitaker calls it an oblong hillock of sand, about half an acre in extent, made artificially, and surrounded in every part with deep ditches. On digging the foundations of Hylewood Tower, some sixty years since, the hill was proved to be natural, and composed of the red sandstone of the district, nothing being found to warrant the assertion that the Romans ever had a post there.

A second of these supposed forts was on a slight mound, named Raineshow, having an area of an acre and a half at the summit. Whitaker says that ditches were visible around it, half way up its sides, and that they were from 15 to 20 yards in depth, the hillock itself being only 100 yards in height at its greatest altitude. This site is now, I believe, covered with villa residences, and, for all practical purposes, obliterated. Nothing is recorded as having been discovered on the spot, which is between the Kersal Hotel and Rainsall (as it is now spelt). Whitaker describes it as a mound of gravel and sand.

* Seventh edition (1849), articles "Little Bowland" and "Whitewell."

† *History of Manchester*, vol. i., pp. 237-41.

The third supposed fort was "on the right hand of the road to Bury, immediately beyond Singleton brook, and upon the first field in the parish of Prestwich." In a deed, dated 1322, quoted by Dr. Kuerden, there is mentioned, "viam regiam inter Manchester et Burghton usque le Low-caster." Whitaker considers the term "Low-caster" to be applied to this site, which is "a rising point of land, having a plane of half an acre," and around it, he asserts, there were traces of a ditch. In his time he states that it was "sometimes" called "How-castle Field," and, more generally, "Castle Hill." This last name it still bears, but there is now no distinct trace of a *fosse*, though some depressions recently visible may have been portions of such. It is, however, much more likely to have been an agrimensorial landmark than a camp, which I think is the case also with the fourth one he mentions—still existing, and bearing, likewise, the name of "Castle Hill." It is situated between the end of Vine Street and Kersal Cell, and is easily recognised by a small clump of trees upon its summit. Like the others, it is *apparently* composed of gravel and sand, and may possibly have been a natural hillock improved by art.

Another class of Roman antiquities are the landmarks of the *agrimensores*, or land surveyors, marking the boundaries of territorial divisions. Examples of only one class of these *(botontini)* have so far been found in Lancashire, unless, as is possible, we are to take a shaft near Warrington as an example of another class—the *arca finalis*.

Of these *botontini*, four occur within a few miles of Lancaster. At Melling, fifty yards east of the Church, there is one, consisting of a circular mound, about 20 feet in height, and 14 yards in diameter at the top; the ground on which it stands being raised by a sort of terrace considerably above the surrounding land. A second is found at Halton, a few yards N.E. of the Church, and separated from it by a deep ravine, called "Foundry Beck." It bears the name of "Castle Hill," but is a most improbable site for a castle, of which no traces can be seen—nor is there any tradition of such a building. The third is about half a mile north of Hornby, at Lune's Bridge, and stands at the north end of a camp, a little over two acres in extent, which approaches nearly to a circular form, though Dr. Whitaker* speaks of it as an ellipsis. The mound itself is circular, and is divided from the camp by

* *Hist. of Richmondshire,* vol. ii., p. 250.

a deep *fosse*. Dr. Whitaker considered the camp Saxon, but whatever its date, it appears to have been made subsequently to the mound. Dr. Lingard (the historian), in a communication to Mr. Baines,* says of it :—

> Annexed to it is a *tumulus* or barrow ; and so many of these, which have been opened lately under the notion that they were Danish or Saxon, have turned out to be Roman, that I should not be surprised if the same were the case here. The camp may have been one of those called *Castra Aestiva*.

As to the mound being Roman, I agree with Dr. Lingard ; but, judging from its shape, the camp can hardly be so. The fourth mound is situated closely adjoining the Church (to the N.E.) at Arkholme, about ten miles N.E. of Lancaster, and much resembles that at Melling.†

Were these mounds explored they would probably be found to contain nothing but layers of broken pottery and charcoal, or bones, unless a rough wall was erected, as at the mound called Bellas Knap, in Gloucestershire, or a large beam might be found standing erect in the centre, as at Silbury Hill, in Wiltshire. It is quite possible that in Saxon times they may have been used for other purposes, and, therefore, that on their summits some slight traces of Saxon remains might occur. The camp at Lune's Bridge seems to point to this fact. From examination of the ground I am inclined to think that several other similar mounds, which have now been levelled, existed between Halton and Lune's Bridge.

On the eastern bank of the Wyre, about a mile from Fleetwood, and a quarter of a mile west of Preesall Hill (on which the Rev. W. Thornber and Mr. Just conjectured there were traces of some irregular intrenchments), is another circular mound, now about 12 feet high, and 85 yards in circumference, with a slight *fosse* still traceable round the base. It appears, outwardly, to be composed of a number of layers of clay, of various thicknesses, and very different to the adjoining soil, which at once seems to stamp it as a *botontinus*. On the six-inch Ordnance Map it is marked as "Mount," and is known by that name simply amongst the inhabitants of the surrounding country. No excavation appears to have been made in it. Mr. E. Kirk has favoured me with particulars concerning this mound.

My attention was lately directed by Mr. Charles Hardwick to two mounds a little to the south of Heapy, near a place called "Dalton Springs." They lie

* Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire* (1836), vol. iv., p. 596.

† For particulars as to these mounds, see Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire* (2nd edit.), pp. 607, 613, 616, 619.

between the Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester and the small road between Blackrode and Mellor—nearest to the latter. One of them is called "Pickering Castle," a name by which residents in the neighbourhood have always known it, but the origin of the name is lost in obscurity. It would seem by its appearance to be another example of a *botontinus*.

At page 580, vol. iii., of Baines' *History of Lancashire* (edit. 1836), the Rev. E. Sibson describes what I consider to have been another *botontinus* at Warrington. It is close to the side of the Roman road which connected the station at Wilderspool, near that town, with the one at Wigan. He says :—

> In a field, called the Mote Hill Field, on the east side of the church, is a large artificial hill called the Mote. The height of this hill is about three yards ; its form is circular, and its top is a flat surface of about thirty yards in diameter.* This hill was opened in 1832, by the Honourable and Reverend Horace Powys, rector of Warrington. It appears that the inside of this hill has been originally hollow, in the form of a bason, the sides of which are constructed of sand and gravel. A great part of the internal surface of this large bason is covered with a layer of bones and carbonized animal matter, from three to six inches in thickness. The animal matter is indicated by a stratum of black, viscous earth, with a strong and offensive smell, like that of the wick of a large lamp, immediately after it has been extinguished. In this stratum are found bones of horses, oxen, sheep, and deer ; and it is remarkable that every bone is broken. At the bottom of the stratum were found pieces of coal, lumps of burnt earth like very brittle red brick, an earthenware button veined like marble, some plates of lead that had been melted and run abroad, and several pieces of carburetted iron, which must have been fused by a very strong heat. Part of a deer's horn was also found, which had never been in the fire. The whole of the large concavity of the bason, above this stratum, is filled up with red marl ; and this circumstance is the more remarkable as there are no marl pits very near Warrington. This mote seems to have been the funeral pile after some great battle at the pass of the Mersey, probably that in which King Oswald was slain.

Why Mr. Sibson should think it was a "funeral pile after some great battle" is singular, considering that no human remains were found. On the other hand, the basin, with sides of gravel and sand, the large deposit of animal bones—"every bone broken,"—and the "layer of red marl," brought from a distance, at once bespeak its nature—a Roman *botontinus*. Singularly enough, Pennant conjectured this mound might be Roman.†

Upon referring the matter to my friend, Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A., who has written largely upon the subject of Roman limitary marks, he says :—

> There can be no doubt that what Mr. Sibson describes with such interesting particularity is a *botontinus*, and nothing else. In shape and contents it comes exactly within the regulations of the *agrimensores*, as they have been handed down to us in their own treatises. See my extracts from the latter, as well as other references in my *Romans of Britain*.

* Dr. Kendrick says it was oval, measuring 54 yards from E. to W., and 43 yards from N. to S., with a ditch partially visible around it.

† *Tour from Downing to Alston*, p. 11.

In 1841, a considerable portion of the mound (Dr. Kendrick says the excavation was 34 yards long by 22 yards wide) was removed for the foundation of the Clergy Orphan Institution. Dr. Kendrick says it was found that the summit of the hill had been raised three feet by heaping upon it dry sand and earth, which he considered had been done by the Parliamentarian forces in 1643; nothing but remains dating from the 17th and 18th centuries were found in this, except that at the lower part of it many tooled ashlars occurred. A stratum of vegetable soil, varying from an inch to a foot in thickness came next, which was evidently the original surface of the mound. Upon it was a regular pavement of boulders, covering a large extent of the surface, and extending from this level to the lowest depth reached, was what Dr. Kendrick calls an ancient draw-well, but which is described as a shaft, its sides composed of oaken staves, laid horizontally, and supported at each end by strong posts, driven deep into the clay. Bones of deer, geese, sheep and other animals, a number of shells of land snails, pieces of timber (much blackened), a large nail, and a bronze *fibula* (said by Mr. J. Y. Akerman to be Anglo-Saxon), were found in it, and it had been filled up with earth. Around this shaft, beneath the original mound surface, Dr. Kendrick says there was a layer of sand, beneath that a layer of clay, and then sand which he calls "ochrey," and immediately above the layer of vegetation, on the old surface, large quantities of broken bones and teeth of the ox, wild boar, red deer, and stag's horns, were found, "every bone had been broken, but none actually burnt." It must be remembered that Dr. Kendrick saw this excavation *after* the one made by Mr. Powys, when the filling in would disarrange the stratum of bones, and probably cause them to appear to have been laid above the old surface, as he reports. But as Dr. Kendrick only paid occasional visits, and was not present during the whole excavation, a mistake of this sort was very likely to be made. What is of more importance is the fact that the necks of two *amphorae* and the handle of a third were found, but at what depth Dr. Kendrick was not aware. He also states that "a deep pit" was found in the lower sand, full of white ashes, bits of early pottery, and fragments of bones of a human being.*

To my mind, the shaft appears to be an example of the *arca finalis*, which had subsequently been covered by a *botontinus*. Mr. Coote, in his paper on the *Centuriation of Roman Britain*,† has well described the latter in these words:—

It is obvious, however, that these *botontini* would have failed to answer an agrimensorial purpose if there had not been something else to identify them with that purpose in a manner which should

* *Trans. Hist. Soc Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. v., p. 59-68. † *Archæologia*, vol. xlii., p. 143.

be significant to an agrimensor if to no one else. Accordingly means were adopted to make them clearly significant. On the ground which should form the base upon which these mounds and hillocks would be subsequently heaped, the *agrimensores* deposited charcoal, broken pottery, gravel, pebbles brought from a distance, lime, ashes, pitched stakes—all things which upon a subsequent excavation of the mound, would demonstrate that the hand of man had placed them there, to serve with their surroundings, as a token of something more abstruse.

Wooden shafts, similar to that under the Mote Hill, have been found at Bekesbourne Hill (Kent),* Ashill (Norfolk), Wallbrook (London),† &c., &c.

Part of the shell of a large mound exists in an enclosed ground near Mountbarrow House, in Ulverston ;‡ but without further excavation it cannot be said whether it is a *botontinus* or a *tumulus*. The same may also be said of a large mound recently visible at Langho.

The undoubted *tumuli* visible are almost *nil*, probably owing to their smaller elevation, making them much more liable to be removed or levelled. Rauthmel describes one which was opened near Overborough, on the road from that station to Ribchester. It was an exact circle, made of small stones, "equal with the ground round about it." The stones formed a layer of a yard in depth, underneath which were three urns containing ashes, one of them, from the smallness of the bones, evidently containing the remains of a child. He took out of one of these urns what he thought were "two copper skewers, full six inches long, and twisted all the length," but afterwards came to the conclusion that they formed a *stylus*, or writing implement.§

On the line of the Roman road from Ribchester to Kirkham, there formerly existed some *tumuli*, near Salwick,‖ but they have been levelled.

From discoveries of stores of mineral coal (and also heaps of cinders) in various Roman stations and villas throughout the kingdom, especially at Wroxeter and on the Northumbrian Wall, it is certain that the Romans were acquainted with that fuel, and it might be expected that traces of their mining operations would be plentiful in such a coal-producing county as Lancashire. Such, however, is not the case. Possibly the great development of coal mining during the last few centuries has effectually obliterated all traces of the earlier workings, or it may be that, with the exception of collecting surface

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. ii., p. 43.

† *Roman Antiquities discovered on the site of the National Safe Deposit Company's Premises*, by J. E. Price, F.S.A.

‡ Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire* (1836), vol. iv., p. 686.

§ *Antiquitates Bremetonacenses* (1746), pp. 22 and 110, also plate v., fig. 10.

‖ *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. iii., p. 62.

coal, the Romans found it easier to use up the wood of the dense forests that then existed, than to sink shafts. One instance of their mining operations may, however, I think, be detected. In 1863, during the cotton famine arising from the civil war in America, the local relief committee set some operatives to work to remove portions of a steep knoll in front of the Plough Inn, at Werneth, near Oldham. Eighteen feet of soil had to be removed in order to produce the necessary gradient for making the land available for building sites. Mr. W. Horsfall* thus speaks of the discoveries then made :—

> In performing this work about twenty pit shafts were discovered, each sunk down to the bottom of the floor-clay of what is known as the "Dirt Mine." The pits were all filled up, and in the mound which had accumulated on the top, trees had grown evidently for a long period. The width of the shafts at the top was about four or five feet, but they widened out when they got down to the coal, forming a bell shape downwards, the bottom edges nearly penetrating to the adjacent shafts. They were from eighteen to twenty feet deep on this part of the estate, but varied according to the depth of the mine, which outcrops in Lee Street. Altogether about sixty shafts have been discovered in various parts of the estate known as the Coppice, during the time that excavations were carried on there. Among the *débris*, with which the shafts were filled, portions of what appeared to be burnt ashes were found, also fragments of burnt clay or tile resembling furnace refuse.

These shafts were previously totally unknown in the neighbourhood. Neither tradition nor written record had preserved any remembrance of them. Mr. Horsfall considered them (and I think rightly) to be of Roman origin. They seem to be somewhat similar to some old coal workings at Benwell, on the Northumbrian Wall.

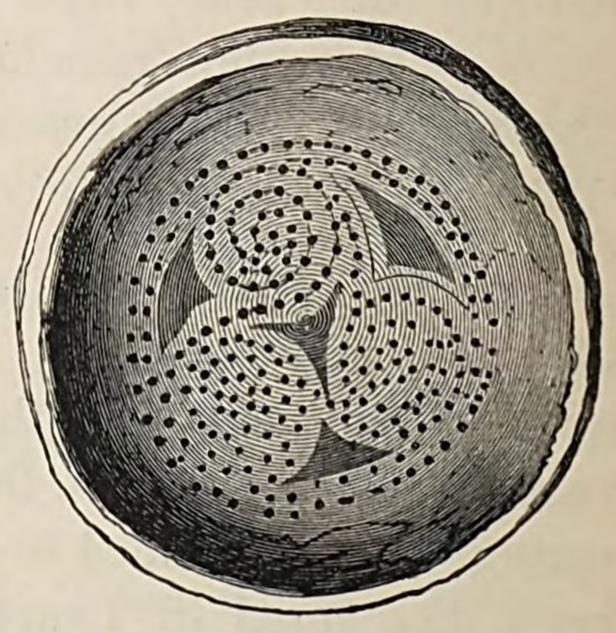
At Plumpton Clough, in the parish of Royton, slight remains of an iron forge, surrounded by heaps of *scoriae*, are (or lately were) visible, though much reduced since 1836, when Mr. Baines† mentioned them. He considered them Saxon, but so few remains of this nature have been found belonging to the Saxon period, whilst numerous discoveries of Roman iron works have occurred, that their Roman origin is hardly doubtful.

Amongst the many forms of worship in vogue in the Roman era was that of rivers and springs. We find many traces of it both in England and on the Continent. In the case of springs, coins, *fibulae*, and other articles of value, were thrown into the water as offerings to the presiding goddess of the spring. I am inclined to think that a slight trace of this worship has recently been discovered in Lancashire. In 1881, the London and North-Western Railway Company sank at Ditton, near Widnes, an artesian well, under the

* *Manchester Scientific Students' Association Report*, 1879, p. 86. † *Hist. of Lanc.* (1836), vol. ii., p. 587.

superintendence of Mr. F. W. Webb, of Crewe. The exact locality of the well is about 200 yards from the Ditton station, on the left-hand side going towards Liverpool, and at about right angles to the centre of the station. The workmen commenced to sink over the top of a spring, from which water was running away to waste over the field. Five feet of dark-grey marsh silt were passed through, to which succeeded 13 feet of dark-brown earth, and then 16 feet of peaty earth, before a *stratum* of gravel lying on red sandstone was reached. At 12 feet from the surface, a mediæval jug (12th or 13th century), was found, and at 14 feet, two Roman second brass coins, one of Domitian, A.D. 96, the other of Nerva, A.D. 98. A fragment of Samian ware was found with them. In the peaty earth great quantities of bones and stag's horns occurred with remains of trees. There was also a quantity of black oak timber which had been worked, and which, Mr. Webb informs me, had evidently been used as tanking, for keeping an ancient well open. Since the new well has been sunk, the water rises much higher than before, and is running away in very large quantities. It would seem as if one side of the ancient well, only, had been trenched upon. Excavation over a wider area would probably reveal a large deposit of Roman coins.

In addition to the objects of art found at the large stations, there are a few, chiefly in metal, found in other localities which remain to be described. In 1825 there was dug up at Risley, 11 feet beneath the surface of the moss, a much-worn, much-cracked, and much-oxidised bronze colander, now in the possession of Col. J. Ireland Blackburne, M.P., at Hale Hall, to whose father it was given by the late Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington. It is (by recent measurement) 16 inches in circumference at the top, 6 inches in diameter, and 3 inches in height. I have been favoured by Col. Blackburne with a drawing of it. It is neatly punctured at the bottom, with holes worked into a sort of pattern, now spoiled, owing to its battered and oxidised state. This utensil resembles one engraved in the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge* ("Pompeii," vol. ii., p. 312), and, like the colander found at Ribchester, has no handle.



A similar article composed of a mixed metal, like pewter, was discovered in Stalmine Moss. It is referred to by the Rev. W. Thornber,* who gives a

* *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire,* vol. iii., p. 120.

drawing of its outline simply. In his description Mr. Thornber states the circumference of the bowl to be 16 inches, in his drawing 12 inches. It had a handle a little over 3 inches long, and was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth, the bottom being rounded. Mr. Thornber says: "I cannot describe the beautiful figures in which the holes are arranged at the sides and bottom. They are exquisite." I cannot trace the present owner of this vessel.

There were also found in the same neighbourhood, in the moss, a spear head, a wooden drinking cup, with two handles, and bronze bands round it, a hoard consisting of an anvil, an instrument like a pair of scissors, and a number of plates of brass or bronze. Some of these were formerly in the possession of Cornelius Bourne, Esq., of Stalmine, but, with the exception of the spear head, none of them appear to be Roman. The latter is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 2 inches wide at its broadest part. The cup seems evidently Saxon. A crescent-shaped piece of iron, an inch and a half long, ornamented, and hooked at each end, was found also in this moss. It might better be described as resembling in shape a pair of horns, joined together in the centre by a cylindrical plate. Mr. Thornber thought it a *fibula*, but there appear to have been no traces of a pin having been attached to it.

One of the beads often found at or near Roman stations was picked up at the base of the agger of the Roman road at Weeton, in the Fylde. It is somewhat oval, perforated, made of whitish earth, painted or dyed blue, and is ribbed.* It exactly resembles one found near Dolgelly, engraved in Gibson's *Camden* (edit. 1722), p. 834, fig. *b*, and another found at Usk, which I have described in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxv., p. 32.

There is preserved at Worden Hall, by Miss ffarington, a ring of much-alloyed gold, found at or near Leyland, many years since, as Miss ffarington's father inherited it—the exact date is not known. It resembles, in form, Roman rings, but, from inspection, I am doubtful if it is of Roman origin. The letters S P Q R are chased upon it in very low relief. From its lightness it must be hollow. The ring was exhibited at the Gloucester meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute in 1860.† Mr. Hardwick calls it a "massive gold ring,"‡ but this description is erroneous.



In Gough's *Camden's Britannia* (edit. 1789), vol. iii., p. 186, there occurs the following passage, taken from the minutes of the Society of Antiquaries:—

* *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. iii., p. 64.

† See Catalogue of Temporary Museum, p. 27.

‡ *History of Preston*, p. 49.

"At Risley, three miles from Warrington, was found, in 1734, a brazen metope of an ox, on a bed of white sand, under a bed of peat, five yards deep. It was three quarters of an inch by two and a half between the horns." This seems to have been certainly Roman, and again raises the interesting question as to the era when these mosses were formed. I believe them to be, in a great measure, *post*-Roman. Most of the trees found in Chat Moss and Risley Moss bear marks of burning, and it seems very probable that they originally stood in swampy ground. It is evident from the soundness of the wood, also, that the trees did not die from decay. The destruction of the woods, both by fire and axe, took place, I think, in the Roman period, but whether in the time of Agricola, or subsequently, cannot now be determined. The great destruction of woods by Severus was in all probability confined to the region north of the Great Wall. After the departure of the Romans, the land being allowed to lie waste, the immense mass of decayed vegetation on these naturally swampy lands led gradually to the formation of the mosses; but, after all, this is more a question for a geologist than an archæologist.

Dr. Leigh gives a very rude engraving of a winged youthful figure, which he calls "an idol, found near Upholland, when plowing," and he considered it a figure of Victory.* If his engraving is correct, it is certainly not a Victory, but more resembles Cupid. He does not say of what material the figure was composed.

A spear head found at Leigh was believed to be Roman, but as it is not known where it is preserved, nothing can be said with certainty.† Whilst this work was in progress, a vessel of pottery, about 7 inches in height, with a handle, has been found at the same place, about 2 feet 6 inches below the surface of the ground. It is of a ware which, externally, is of a bright red colour, but, in the centre, of an ordinary earthen hue, and is of rough workmanship. From its shape and material it does not seem to be Roman, and is probably of local manufacture, of mediæval date.

In 1773, two copper (bronze ?) *fibulae* were found above Holme, near Burnley. No account of their shape or dimensions has been preserved, but they were said to be beautifully enamelled.‡

An antique, of bronze, found in the Mersey, at Warrington,§ in taking up the abutment of the old bridge, though discovered on the Lancashire side,

* *Nat. Hist. of Lancashire*, &c., Book iii., p. 81, and pl. i., fig. 3.

† *Lancashire and Cheshire, Past and Present*, vol. i., p. 269. ‡ *History of Whalley* (3rd edit.), p. 347.

§ Engraved in Baines' *History of Lancashire* (1836), vol. iii., p. 651.

belongs more properly to the Roman station at Wilderspool, in Cheshire, which I hope at some future time to treat of.

At Breightmet, 2 miles E. by N. from Bolton, and near the Roman road running from Manchester to Ribchester, there were found, about 1790, twelve Roman earthenware urns, of cylindrical form, containing burnt bones and ashes. In the top of each was a small bone, about two inches long, evidently so placed purposely, and not accidentally. The urns fell to pieces when exposed to the air.*

As in most parts of the kingdom, a considerable number of hoards of coins have been found, but unfortunately, as elsewhere, they have mostly either been lost again or dispersed before any numismatist could examine them, so that it is impossible (with a few exceptions) to tell the date of their concealment, or to give a description of the coins.

(1) Dr. Kuerden informs us in his MSS.† of a discovery of coins at Myerscough Park, thus :—

> Not many years agoe, within the parke afforesaid in digging or cleansing of a ditch was found a Roman urne, in which was found great store of antient coynes, most of which I myself have seene, and were for some yeares after carefully preserved or bestowed on friends by that ingenious gentleman, Edward Towneley, esq., the proprietor, and owner of the parke of ground where this urn was found.

This hoard has been completely lost sight of.

(2) The Rev. T. E. Gibson has lately published‡ a letter from William Blundell, Esq., of Little Crosby, to his cousin, James Scarisbrick, then a young student at the college at St. Omer, in France, dated 29th April, 1655, describing another lost hoard, in the following terms :—

> Hugh Worthington y^ur^ Tenant hath found a few days since in ye ground about his house, dyvers scores of most antient Roman pieces many of them pure silver, others (supposed once to be gold) prove now but Brasse, these about half a crowne in weight, those but sixpence. The faces and inscriptions upon ye silver coyne are clearly apparent, and very neatly cutt, the charecter is the same now used or wth little difference. One of these beares ye face of Vespatian wth his name and tytle [Caesar], stamp't at large upon ye verge. On ye other syde is a women, despoyled of all her Dresses, in a sedentary and pensive posture, and ye inscription upon ye ring *Judaea*. You have in others SPQR in a wreath of Laurel, ye Roman Egle displayed, ye Aulters and instruments of sacrifize, wth ye faces of sondry of ye first twelve Caesars, no lesse discirnable than ye stamps of our modern coyne. . . . We have here an od opinion y^t^ ye finding of Iroron is lucky, but of silver extreamely unfortunat.

* *Gent. Mag.* (1807), p. 1097 ; Baines' *History of Lancashire* (1836), vol. iii., p. 88.

† Vol. vi., fo. 121, cap. ii. in Herald's College.

‡ *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. xxxi. p. 52.

Which farm Hugh Worthington held in Scarisbrick cannot now be ascertained, though the name of Worthington is still extant at Scarisbrick and in its neighbourhood.

(3) At a place called Mereclough, on the "Long Causeway," in the township of Cliviger, about five miles S.S.E. of Burnley, a number of Roman coins were found in 1695, near a *tumulus*, composed of a large heap of stones, and containing a *kist-vaen* and a skeleton, which was removed in 1763. The coins are said to have been both Consular and Imperial. Charles Towneley, Esq., of Towneley, became possessed of them, and twenty-two were presented by him to Thoresby, the antiquary, who alludes to them in the *Philosophical Transactions*. He names one of the Cassia *gens*, bearing, as usual, the name Q. CASSIVS on the obverse; many of them bore the head of Rome, without an inscription; others had upon them ROMA., and one was of the Valeria *gens*, bearing the name of L. VALERIVS. FLACCVS.* In all probability this hoard was concealed at a very early period, possibly at the time of Agricola's invasion of Lancashire.

(4) James Schofield, Esq., of Stubley Hall, near Littleborough, informs me that when his father was excavating for the foundations of the new hall, he found an urn containing a number of Roman coins, "also a cup." This hoard was dispersed; some of the coins being given to the late Miss Newall, and it is not known what eventually became of them, or of the remainder.

(5) Mr. E. Kirk states that he remembers the discovery of a hoard of Roman silver coins, *circa* 1845, on the Elston Hall Estate, near Ribchester, in one of the fields on the river side; but Col. W. Assheton-Cross, the owner of the site, appears to know nothing whatever about them.

(6) Mr. Rauthmel says† that by the side of the military way from Ribchester to Overborough, "some years" before he wrote, there was found a copper urn (probably bronze), containing above 600 *denarii*, of which he had several in his collection. "This urn abounded most with the coins of Alexander Severus, and Gordianus Pius. * * * The medals of this urn, of youngest date, that I have seen, are (of) Otacilia, empress of Philip." Consequently this hoard could not have been buried *before* A.D. 244.

(7) In June, 1761, a hoard of about 200 coins, chiefly of the time of Constantine the Great, and his sons, were found in a field called the "Low House Wood," at the Dyer Wood, between Barcroft and Overtown,

* *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xx., p. 310; Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodensis*, p. 283; *Hist. of Whalley* (3rd edit.), p. 347.

† *Antiquitates Bremetonacenses* (1746), p. 23. See also Gough's *Camden* (1789), vol. iii., p. 140, where the number of coins is erroneously said to be 200, and it is stated they were found in a *tumulus*.

about two miles from Burnley, on the estate of Mr. Peter Ormerod, of Ormerod. This spot is close to the "Long Causeway" and also to the site of the Mereclough discovery of 1695. It is not said of what metal the coins were, but they appear to have been third brass. A description of only five has been preserved. One was of Maximinus Daza; *Rev.:* GENIO . POP . ROM. Genius, standing, holding a *patera* and cornucopia. In exergue, P . TR; in the field, T . F. The second was of Constantine; *Rev.:* MARTI . CONSERVATORI. Mars, standing, armed. In the field, T . F . ; in exergue, P . TR. The third, of the same emperor, was of the SOLI . INVICTO . COMITI. type. The letters in the field and exergue, the same as the last. The fourth, also of Constantine, had, *Rev.:* S . P . Q . R . OPTIMO PRINCIPI, three standards; in the exergue, MOSTP. The fifth was of Licinius; *Rev.:* GENIO . POP . ROM. In the field, T . F. In the exergue, P . TR.*

(8) On the 17th of December, 1778, some workmen, employed in widening the road between Chatburn and Worsthorne, found an urn, containing, it is believed, about 1000 silver *denarii*, all in fine preservation, of the Higher Empire—the earliest being of Augustus. The "find" occurred in ground belonging to Mr. Josias Robinson, of Chatburn. The nine workmen who were present divided the coins among them; but about 310 were recovered for the ladies of the manor, and about 40, with a small bronze lamp, found at the same time, for Mr. Robinson. It is said these are in the possession of his descendants, but enquiry has failed to verify the statement.† It is also asserted that no two reverses were alike.‡ Mr. Barritt, the Manchester antiquary, says that he saw amongst them one of Hadrian, with *Rev.:* COS. IIII., and two of Antoninus (Pius ?), with the same reverse. He also says that the vessel containing the coins was of a whitish colour, and that the "find" occurred at Clitheroe Castle.§ This latter statement must be an error; and it seems probable that there is an error in the description of the coin of Hadrian, which is said to have borne the letters "COS. IIII."—Hadrian having been consul only three times. Ten of these *denarii* were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, by Mr. Barrington, June 3rd, 1779; but the reigns are not mentioned. The coins weighed over 8lbs.‖

(9) A silver vessel, enclosing Roman coins, was dug up at Emmott, near Colne, at the close of the seventeenth century. Dr. Leigh¶ publishes a portion

* *History of Whalley* (3rd edit.), p. 347; MS. account in *Manchester Courier*, August 18th, 1876.
† Baines' *History of Lancashire* (2nd edit.), vol. ii., p, 24.
‡ *London Chronicle*, January 16th, 1779.
§ Letter of Barritt, dated December 24th, 1778, in *Manchester Courier*, 18th August, 1876.
‖ *Archæologia*, vol. vii., p, 414.
¶ Book iii., p. 10.

of a letter written to him by the Rev. Mr. Hargrave, a native of Colne, but rector of Brandsburtone (Yorkshire), in which he says that he considered Colne to have been a Roman station, from the

> great number of Roman coins which have been frequently dug up nigh it, as at Wheatley Lane, which are generally copper, and those silver ones cast up by a plough three or four years agoe (*circa* 1696), near Emmet, enclosed in a great silver cup, some of which I have seen; one of Gordianus was very legible and another not so. I have seen parts of others whose remains show they were of one of the Antonines.

Baines* adds, that a number of Roman coins were turned up in 1825, in digging for the foundations of a factory at Greenfield, in the same neighbourhood, others at the foot of Caster-cliff, and that further discoveries of coins had taken place at Wheatley Lane and Emmott; but he gives no particulars of them.

(10) Dr. Whitaker† informs us that a number of Roman coins were found at Castle Mere, near Rochdale, several of which were of the second brass series and of the Higher Empire; one, if he was not mistaken in his recollection, being as early as the reign of Claudius.

(11) Another discovery, recorded by the same author, appears to have taken place, at the commencement of the present century, at Underwood, near Rochdale, which was that of

> a small iron box containing a rouleau of Roman brass coins, folles of the Lower Empire, in general extremely fair and fresh. Those which I have seen, besides a small brass of the emperor Tacitus, are of Constantius Caesar, Maximian, and Dioclesian. The obverse of one, apparently Dioclesian, is nearly effaced; the reverse, a figure of Moneta, with balance aud cornucopia, circumscribed MONETA . S . AVGG . ET . CAES. The legend on the reverse of all the rest is the same: GENIO POPVLI ROMANI; the figure of a genius with patera and cornucopia.‡

It is not known what has become of either of these hoards.

(12) In January, 1835, another large hoard, which appears to have been dispersed, said to be chiefly of brass, but with some silver coins intermixed, was found at Heapy, 2¼ miles N.N.E. of Chorley. The coins are described as being in excellent preservation, but of what reigns is not stated.§

(13) At the close of last century, two men, whilst quarrying in Cartmel Park woods, near Walton Hall, in Upper Holker, struck upon an unglazed

* *History of Lancashire* (1836), vol. iii., p. 236. See also Gough's *Camden* (1789), vol. iii., p. 138, (where reference is made to Newberry's *Description of England,)* and *Annals of Colne*, p. 16.

† *Hist. of Whalley* (3rd edit.), p. 31.

‡ *Hist. of Whalley* (3rd edit.), p. 545. (The first of these inscriptions seems slightly erroneous. It should probably be, MONETA . S . AVGG . ET . CAESS . NN. In the field, S . F. In the exergue, ITR. The coin would be a second brass, as would also the others, if the words "Genio Populi Romani" were in full)

§ Lewis's *Top. Dict. of England*, article "Heapy."

earthen vessel, which was broken to pieces before its contents were noticed. It contained 524 silver *denarii*, the earliest being of Antoninus Pius, and others of Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Plautilla, &c.; the latest being of Gallus and Volusianus. A copper coin of Hadrian was amongst them. These coins at the time passed into the hands of Lord George Cavendish, and are now believed to be in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, but being mixed with others, cannot be identified.*

(14) In 1836, workmen boring for coal at Whittle, near Chorley, found a *denarius* of Philip, with the reverse—SALVS . AVGVSTI. "Salus standing with spear, a serpent issuing from an altar at her feet." Another *denarius* of Valerian (reverse not given) was found at the same time; and this was succeeded, in 1837, by the discovery, at the same place, of a hoard of about a thousand small brass coins of the Lower Empire, in removing the rock from an old stone quarry, above the tunnel formed for the canal. These coins have also been dispersed.†

(15) On the 19th February, 1856, some men excavating for the foundation of a house, in the grounds of Mr. J. Fenton, jun., at Hooley Wood, on the bank of the river Roche, near Hooley Bridge, rather more than a mile north of Heywood, and about midway between Bury and Rochdale, came upon a globular vessel, with a short neck, formed of coarse red unglazed earthenware, capable of holding about half a gallon, standing upright in the ground, and containing a large number of coins. Unable, after inverting the vessel, to shake out its contents, the men broke it to pieces and the coins fell out in a large mass, cemented together by oxidation. With spades they broke this mass into pieces, and filled their pockets with coins. Mr. Fenton, hearing of the discovery, was able to recover nearly seven hundred, but many had by that time been dispersed, and it was calculated that the full number found would not be less than a thousand. The coins were in a very bad condition, the oxidation being extensive. "Some are as thin as paper, and quite brittle. Scarcely one in twenty has enough of either obverse or reverse left to make its identification easy, and probably there are not more than twenty coins in the whole heap which have both obverse and reverse even tolerably perfect." Those coins which could be identified were of the reigns of Gallienus, Salonina, Postumus, Victorinus, Marius, the Tetrici, Claudius

* Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire* (1836), vol. iv., p. 717. *Annales Caermolenses*, p. 244. Lewis's *Top. Dict. of England*, where the number found is given as 680.

† Lewis's *Top. Dict. of England*, article "Whittle-le-Woods." Hardwick's *History of Preston*, pp. 49, 50, 613.

Gothicus, Aurelianus, and Probus, comprising a period of about thirty years, A.D. 253-282. They were all of third brass, the most numerous being those of Claudius Gothicus. There are reverses of the CONSECRATIO type, with eagle, of both Gallienus and Claudius Gothicus; the remainder are of common types, the AEQVITAS . AVG. and PROVIDENTIA . AVG. being among them. It is said that coins of Vespasian and Severus were in the vessel, but this is improbable. If Whitaker's supposed road from Manchester to Littleborough really had an existence, it would be the one nearest to the site of the discovery. Mr. Fenton stated at the time, to the late Mr. John Harland, F.S.A., that when Crimble Hall (only about half a mile distant) was being erected, various Roman coins were found on its site, which had previously been a wood.*

(16) On the 8th of May, 1819, a man cutting turf on Longton Moss, near Leyland, found an oaken box, containing seventeen Roman brass coins and eleven of silver. They came into the possession of a Mr. Westmore, of Friargate, Preston, and appear to have been dispersed. Those which were legible were of the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and the Faustinas.† Five of them eventually came into the hands of Miss ffarington, by whom they are now preserved at Worden Hall, and of these, three are more or less legible. One is a *denarius* of Trajan, on the reverse only the letters cos . III., with a female figure standing, are visible; the second is a *denarius* of Faustina the Elder, *Rev.* "AVGVSTA., Ceres standing to the left, holding a sceptre;" the third is a first brass of Faustina, jun., *Rev.:* "AETERNITAS . S.C., Eternity standing, holding a globe and sceptre."

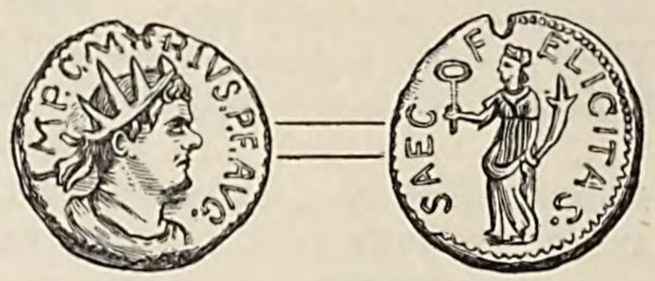
(17) In 1850, a hoard of 126 coins (with the exception of a few of billon, all of third brass) was found about 18 inches below the surface of the ground, at Worden, near Leyland. It contained 8 coins of Gallienus, 1 of Postumus, 29 of Victorinus, 1 of Marius, 54 of the Tetrici, 12 of Claudius Gothicus, 1 of Quintillus, 1 of Aurelian, 5 of Probus, and 14 entirely illegible. The reverses of a large portion of the remainder were also illegible. Sixteen of these coins were given to the Preston Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge, ten to the Rev. G. Baldwin (Vicar of Leyland), and one hundred were preserved by Miss ffarington, who has kindly favoured me with a copy of such reverses as were legible, embodied in the following list:—

GALLIENVS	APOLLINI. CONS. AVG.	Centaur to *l.* In exergue, M.
,,	IOVI CONSERV. AVG.	Goat to *l.*
,,	SECVRIT. PERPET.	Female standing cross-legged, holding spear. In field, M.

* *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xii., p. 237. Hardwick's *Hist. of Preston*, p. 49.

† *Gent. Mag.*, July, 1819, p. 63. Whittle's *Hist. Preston*, vol. i., p. 14. Hardwick's *Hist. Preston*, p. 49.

POSTVMVS ..... VIRTVS. AVG. Mars marching to *l.*
VICTORINVS ..... VIRTVS. AVG. Soldier standing, holding spear and shield.
,, PAX. AVG. Peace standing, holding olive branch and spear. V in field. Three examples.
,, SALVS. AVG. Salus standing to *r.* Two examples.
,, PIETAS. AVG. Piety standing to *l.* Altar on ground.
,, PROVIDENTIA. AVG. Providence standing to *l.*, with cornucopia.
,, INVICTVS. The sun marching to *l.* Star in field. Two examples.
,, AEQVITAS. AVG. Equity standing.
,, SPES. PVBLICA. Hope standing to *l.*, with palm branch.
MARIVS ..... *Obv.*, IMP. C. MARIVS. P. F. AVG. *Rev.*, SAEC. FELICITAS. Female figure standing to *l.* Cornucopia in left hand; caduceus in right. Historians assert that this emperor only reigned three days. If so, his coins, which are comparatively plentiful, must have been struck beforehand, in anticipation of his successful revolt.



TETRICVS, Senr. ..... LAETITIA. AVG. N. Female standing, holding garland and spear. Two examples.
,, PIETAS. AVG. Sacrificial instruments.
,, VICTORIA. AVG. Victory marching to *l.*
,, PAX. AVG. Peace standing to *l.*, holding spear and olive branch. Two examples.
,, SPES. AVG. Hope walking to *l.*
,, SPES. PVBLICA. Military figure walking to *l.*
TETRICVS, Junr. ..... SALVS. AVG. Salus standing with spear. Serpent issuing from altar at her feet.
,, SPES. PVBLICA. Hope marching to *l.*
,, Same legend. Military figure marching to *l.*
,, PIETAS. AVG. Sacrificial instruments.
,, LAETITIA. AVG. N. Female standing, holding garland (?) and rudder.
,, PAX. AVG. Peace standing, holding spear and olive branch.
,, (ABVNDANT)IA. AVG. (?) Female figure standing.
TETRICVS, Junr. (?) ..... IOVI. CO(NSERVATORI). In field, M. Jupiter, standing, with spear and thunderbolt.
CLAVDIVS GOTHICVS ..... CONSECRATIO. An altar.
,, ,, IOVI. VICTORI. Jupiter standing, holding spear and thunderbolt.
,, ,, VIRTVS. AVG. Military figure holding spear. In field, ϵ
,, ,, PROVIDENT. AVG. Providence standing, holding cornucopia.
,, ,, LAETITIA. AVG. Female standing, holding garland and rudder.
QVINTILLVS .... PROVIDENTIA. AVG. Providence standing, holding cornucopia.
AVRELIANVS ..... PROVIDENTIA. DEOR. Providence standing.
PROBVS ..... SALVS. AVG. Salus standing.

(18) In the year 1838, a "find" of 33 silver and 47 brass coins occurred, on a farm called "The Old Sprink," in the parish of Torbock, on the estate of the Earl of Sefton. They were exhibited by the late Earl of Sefton to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, December 8th, 1851,* and subsequently 21 of the silver *denarii* and a number of first and second brass were presented to the society. The *denarii* presented were said to be: of Vespasian, 4; Domitian, 2; Trajan, 10; Hadrian, 1; Antoninus Pius, 1; Gordianus Pius, 1; whilst the dates of the remaining two and of the brass coins are not given.†

* *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Chcshire*, vol. iv., p. 14. † Catalogue of the Society's Museum, p. 68.

I have specially searched the Museum of the Society for these coins, without success; they appear to be mixed up with some hundreds of others, without the place or date of discovery being named. Fortunately, nine of them were engraved in 1851,* and they are the following (all of silver):—

VESPASIAN .....IVDAEA. Captive seated to *r.*, at foot of a trophy.
IVLIA (TITI) daughter of Titus..VENVS. AVGVSTA. Venus leaning upon a column. In right hand, an apple; in left, the *hasta.*
DOMITIAN .....IMP. XXI. COS. XIIII. CENS. P. P. P. Figure standing. In right hand, caduceus (?); in left a spear. Shield at feet.
NERVA.....CONCORDIA. EXERCITVM. Two hands clasped.
TRAJAN .....P. M. TR. P. COS. IIII. P. P. Victory with wreath, marching to *r.*
,, S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Column, with figure of emperor on summit.
HADRIAN .....P. M. TR. P. COS. III. Pallas armed, hurling a spear. Shield on left arm.
ANTONINVS PIVS .....AEQVITAS. AVG. Equity standing. Scales in right hand; in left, a spear.
MARCVS AVRELIVS.....COS. II. Peace standing, with olive branch and cornucopia.

The coin of Julia, the daughter of Titus, is a rare one, but the lithographic representation of it is poorly executed.

(19) In 1840, nearly 400 silver coins *(denarii)* were found by some men at work in a brickfield belonging to a Mr. Walmsley, between Rossall Point and Fenny, near the landmark at Fleetwood. They were in good preservation, and were of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Sabina, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Severus, Caracalla, &c. About forty came into the possession of the Rev. W. Thornber, and the remainder were preserved by the late Sir Hesketh Fleetwood, Bart., at Rossall Hall, at the sale of whose effects they were purchased by Alderman Browne, of Preston.†

(20) Towards the close of the seventeenth century, a farmer, ploughing at Standish, near Wigan, turned up a copper vessel containing about 200 Roman silver *denarii*, two gold rings and an intaglio for setting in a ring. Dr. Leigh engraves the copper vessel and the intaglio;‡ the former he calls an *urceolus*, but it was more probably a *patella;* the latter has an armed figure upon it, which he thought was Mars. Judging from the engraving (a somewhat rude one), this seems very doubtful. Of the coins, Dr. Leigh engraves and describes the reverses of 98, with a few of the obverses.§ There are, however, undoubted errors both in the engravings and descriptions of many of them. Where possible, some of these errors have, in the subjoined list, been rectified; the other coins are described from the engravings. Several comparatively rare

* *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. iv., p. 14.

† Hardwick's *Hist. of Preston*, p. 23. *Manchester Courier*, Feb. 23, 1877. At the last moment I have ascertained that these coins are now in the possession of Dr. Browne, of Preston (son of the Alderman), but they have not seen the light for many years.

‡ *Nat. Hist. of Lancashire*, &c., Book iii., plate i., figs. 3 and 11. § *Ibid.*, pl. v. to x., and pp. 92-110.

coins occur in the list, which probably includes every type of reverse in the hoard, though there were, no doubt, in some cases, duplicates and even triplicates.

DOMITIAN .....IMP. XXII. COS. XVII. CENS. P. P. P. Pallas armed, hurling a spear.
TRAJAN .....P. M. TR. P. COS. IIII. P. P. Peace standing. Olive branch in right hand, cornucopia in left.
ANTONINVS PIVS.....COS. IIII. Two hands clasped, holding ears of corn and caduceus.
MARCVS AVRELIVS ..IMP. VI. COS. III. Helmeted figure standing. Spear in right hand, shield in left.
,, ,, IMP. VI. COS. IIII. Standing figure. Olive branch in right hand, spear in left.
FAVSTINA, Junr. .....CONSECRATIO. An eagle.
LVCIVS VERVS. .....*Obv.*, DIVVS VERVS. *Rev.*: CONSECRATIO. An eagle.
COMMODVS .....LIB. AVG. V. TR. P. VI. IMP. IIII. COS. III. P. P. Liberalitas standing with tessera and cornucopia.
,, OPTIME MAXIME. COS. V. P. P. Jupiter standing, with spear and thunderbolt.
,, P. M. TR. P. XI. IMP. VII. COS. V. P. P. In exergue, CONC. MIL. Female standing, with standard in each hand.
,, SEC. ORB. P. M. TR. P. XIIII. P. P. COS. V. DES. VI. Female sitting; orb in right hand.
,, FIDEI. COH. P. M. TR. P. XVI. COS. VI. Female standing; spear in right hand.
CLODIVS ALBINVS....ROMAE AETERNAE. Rome sitting, with a Victory in right hand; spear in left.
SEVERVS .....VICTORIAE BRIT. Victory standing, with wreath and palm branch.
,, HERCVLI. DEFENS. Hercules, with club in right hand; bow in left.
,, FORTVNA. REDVX. Fortune seated.
,, FVNDATOR PACIS. A standing figure, with olive branch.
,, PART. MAX. P. M. TR. P. X. COS. III. P. P. Two Parthian captives sitting below a trophy.
,, LIBERALITAS. AVG. VI. Female standing, with tessera and cornucopia.
,, VICT. AVG. TR. P. COS. Victory marching, with wreath and palm branch.
,, FELICIT. TEMPOR. An ear of corn between two cornucopiae.
,, MONET. AVG. Moneta, with scales in right hand; cornucopia in left.
,, APOLLINI. AVGVSTO. Apollo standing, with lyre in left hand; wreath (?) in right.
IVLIA DOMNA .....LAETITIA. Female standing, with garland in right hand.
,, ,, PIETAS. PVBLICA. Female standing, sacrificing at lighted altar.
,, ,, PIETAS. AVGG. Ditto ditto.
,, ,, VENVS. GENETRIX. Venus sitting. Apple in right hand; *hasta pura* in left.
,, ,, DIANA LVCIFERA. Diana standing, holding a torch with both hands.
,, ,, VESTA. Vesta standing. *Palladium* in right hand; *hasta* in left.
,, ,, VENERI. VICTR. Venus standing, leaning against a pillar. In right hand a globe; in left a branch.
CARACALLA .....FIDES EXERCITVS. Female sitting between two standards. Bird in right hand.
,, SECVRITAS. PERPETVA (S. C.) Pallas armed with spear and shield.
,, SEVERI. AVG. PII. FIL. Sacrificing instruments.
,, MINER. VICTRIX. Pallas standing. In right hand a Victory; in left a spear. A trophy behind.
,, FIDES. MILITVM. Female standing, holding two standards.
,, TEMPORVM. FELICITAS. Female standing, with caduceus and cornucopia.
,, PROVID. DEORVM. Female standing. In right hand a globe; in left a cornucopia.
,, IOVI. CONSERVATORI. Jupiter standing. In right hand a thunderbolt; in left a spear. Eagle at feet. Two standards behind.
,, P.M. TR. P. III. COS. III. P. P. Jupiter sitting. In right hand a Victory; in left a spear.
,, SEVERI. PII. AVG. FIL. Emperor standing. In right hand a Victory; in left a spear. A captive at his feet.
,, FELICITAS. AVGG. Female standing, with caduceus and cornucopia.
,, PONTIF. TR. P. XIIII. COS. III. Soldier standing. Spear in right hand; shield in left.
,, P. M. TR. P. XV. COS. III. P. P. Female sitting. Cornucopia in left hand; tessera in right.
,, PROFECTIO. AVG. Soldier with spear; two standards behind.
,, MARTI. PROPVGNATORI. Mars with spear in right hand; *spolia* over left shoulder.
,, VENVS. VICTRIX. Venus holding image in right hand; in left spear and shield.

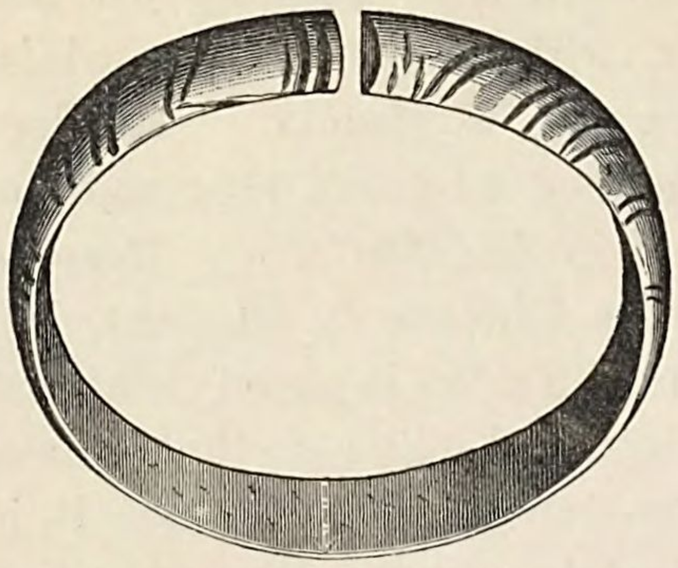
PLAVTILLA .....PIETAS. AVGG. Standing female. Spear in right hand; an infant in left.
„ VENVS. VICTRIX. Venus standing, with her attributes. A child in front.
GETA .....PRINC. IVVENT. Standing figure. In right hand an olive branch; in left a spear.
„ PRINC. IVVENTVTIS. Geta standing. Spear in left hand; trophy behind.
„ NOBILITAS. Standing figure. Spear in right hand; *Palladium* (?) in left.
„ PONTIF. COS. Minerva standing, with shield and spear.
„ PROVID. DEORVM. Providence standing.
MACRINVS .....LIBERALITAS. AVG. Liberality standing, with tessera and cornucopia.
„ AEQVITAS. AVG. Equity standing. Scales in right hand; cornucopia in left.
DIADVMENIANVS ....PRINC. IVVENTVTIS. Male (?) figure standing with spear. Two standards behind.
ELAGABVLVS .....P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. III. P. P. Male figure. Right hand raised. Star behind.
„ Ditto. Figure sacrificing. Sceptre in left hand. A star before and behind.
„ SACERD. DEI. SOLIS. ELAGAB. The emperor sacrificing at an altar. Star over the latter.
„ ABVNDANTIA. AVG. Standing female, pouring corn from a cornucopia.
„ INVICTVS. SACERDOS. AVG. Figure standing (sacrificing?). Paragonium in left hand. A star in the field.
„ P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. III. P. P. Female standing. Cornucopia in left hand. A star.
„ LIBERALITAS. AVG. III. Liberality standing. In right hand, tessera; in left, cornucopia. A star.
„ LIBERTAS. AVG. Female standing. Spear in left hand. A star.
IVLIA PAVLA .....CONCORDIA. Female (empress?) sitting. A star in the field.
IVLIA SOEMIAS .....VENVS. CAELESTIS. Venus standing. In right hand an apple; in left, a spear. A star in field.
„ „ Ditto. Venus seated. Before her Cupid.
IVLIA MAESA .....FECVNDITAS. AVG. Female standing. Cornucopia in left hand. Child in front.
„ „ PIETAS. AVG. Piety sacrificing at an altar.
„ „ PVDICITIA. Female sitting. Spear in left hand.
„ „ SAECVLI. FELICITAS. Female at an altar. *Patera* in right hand; *hasta* in left. Star in field.
ALEXANDER SEVERVS..FIDES. MILITVM. Female holding standard in each hand.
„ „ Ditto. ditto sitting ditto.
„ „ IOVI. VLTORI. Jupiter sitting. In right hand a Victory; in left a spear.
„ „ LIBERALITAS. AVG. Liberality standing with tessera and cornucopia.
„ „ P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P. Mars (?) helmeted. In right hand a branch; in left a spear.
„ „ P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P. Female sitting, feeding a serpent.
„ „ PROVIDENTIA. AVG. Female standing, holding *patera* in right hand, over an altar; sceptre in left.
„ „ PERPETVITATI. AVG. Female leaning against a pillar. Globe (or apple) in right hand; in left a spear.
„ „ P. M. TR. P. VII. COS. II. P. P. Mars with spear in right hand; *spolia* over left shoulder.
„ „ P. M. TR. P. VIIII. COS. III. P. P. Soldier standing. Spear in right hand; globe in left.
„ „ LIBERALITAS. AVG. IIII. Liberality standing, with usual attributes.
„ „ VICTORIA. AVGVSTI. Victory, with foot on a globe, holding a shield, on which is VOT. X.
IVLIA MAMMAEA ....FECUND. AVGVSTAE. Seated female, giving a *patera* to a child in front.
„ „ FELICITAS. PVBLICA. Female leaning against a pillar. Caduceus in right hand.
„ „ IVNO. AVGVSTAE *(sic)*. Juno sitting. In right hand a flower; in left a sceptre.
„ „ IVNO. CONSERVATRIX. Juno standing. In right hand, *patera*; in left, spear. Peacock at her feet.
„ „ VENERI. FELICI. Venus standing, with child in right hand, spear in left.
„ „ VENVS. VICTRIX. Venus standing, holding helmet in right hand, spear in left; shield on ground.
„ „ VESTA. Vesta standing veiled. In right hand the palladium; in left the *hasta*.
„ „ Ditto. ditto. In right hand a *patera*; in left, *hasta*, held transversely.
MAXIMINVS .....P. M. TR. P.P.P. Figure standing between two standards; spear in left hand.
„ VICTOR. AVG. Victory marching to left with wreath.
„ FIDES. MILITVM. Female holding two standards.
„ PAX. AVGVSTI. Peace standing. Olive branch in right hand; spear held transversely in left.
„ PROVIDENTIA. AVG. Providence standing with cornucopia.
PVPIENVS .....PAX. PVBLICA. Peace sitting. Olive branch in right hand; spear in left.
GORDIANVS .....VIRTVTI. AVGVSTI. Hercules standing. Club in right hand.

Dr. Leigh, in his text, states that the inscription on the obverse of the third, fourth, and fifth coins of Alexander Severus in the foregoing list was IMP . C . M . AVR . SEV . C . ; on the seventh, the same, without the final C. ; whilst on the eleventh and twelfth he says it was IMP . SEV . C . simply. He does not, however, engrave these obverses. I am inclined to think that some of them were of Caracalla. The Rev. J. Pointer, in his *Britannia Romana* (published 1724), p. 3, adds Nerva and Constantius Chlorus to this list, but omits from it Trajan and the empresses. A coin of Trajan is plainly amongst those of which the obverses have been engraved by Dr. Leigh ; so that I have little doubt Mr. Pointer is wrong in adding Constantius Chlorus, for it is almost certain that if a coin of that emperor had been in the hoard, coins of some of the numerous emperors between Gordian and his reign would have been there also. This is, numismatically, perhaps the most interesting hoard of coins which has been found in the county.

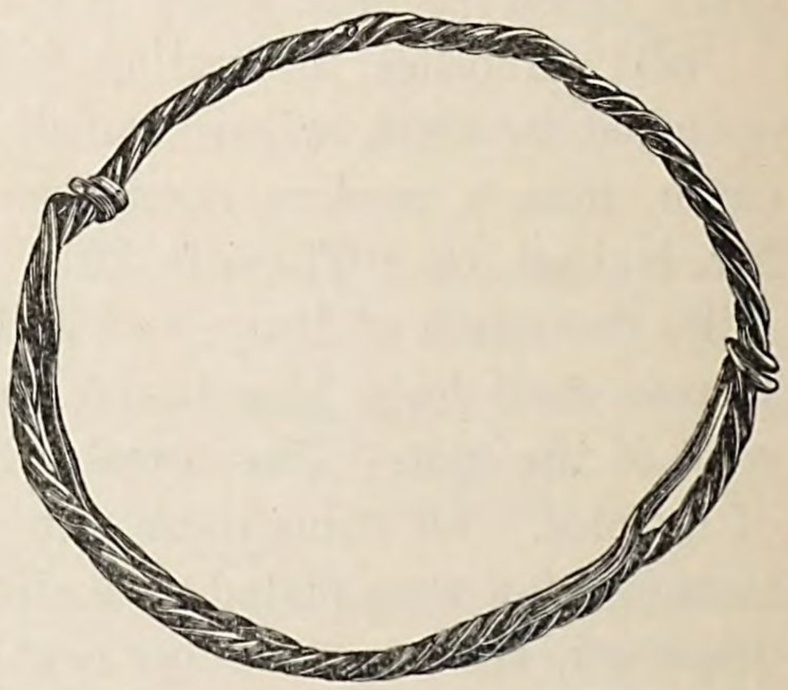
(21) Another interesting "find," though in a different point of view, occurred in 1864, when a small earthenware vessel was found buried in the earth, near a modern occupation road leading to a farmhouse inhabited by Mr. Nuttall, on "Throstle Hill," in the township of Walmersley, about three miles due north of Bury, and half a mile east of "Grant's Tower." The direct Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester passes about three miles to the west of the spot. The vessel (which was covered by a flag) contained a variety of articles. Of coins there were from five to seven hundred, all of third brass, though a few were plated with silver. Owing to their being almost immediately dispersed, the exact number could not be ascertained. Amongst those seen by Mr. C. Hardwick* soon after the discovery, the earliest were of Gallienus and his wife Salonina (A.D. 253-268). There were also coins of Postumus, Victorinus, Tetricus, Claudius Gothicus, Quintillus, Tacitus, Probus, Maximianus, and Carausius—those of the two last-named emperors being the latest in date. The other articles in the vessel were, firstly, a pair of silver bracelets, slightly ornamented, one (which was quite perfect) with vine leaves, and the other (which was broken) with bunches of grapes. Unfortunately, these cannot now be traced, but Mr. Hardwick says the ornamentation was not very elaborate, and the workmanship suggestive of provincial inferiority, and of a low period of art. A massive silver bracelet, about one-third of an inch in breadth, though broken, was secured by Captain J. Aitken (now of Urmston), who has kindly

* *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. xviii., p. 280.

permitted it to be here engraved. It has two loose ends, which are not jointed. Another bracelet from this "find" was also secured by Capt. Aitken. It is formed of twisted silver cord one-eighth of an inch thick, and is very ingeniously constructed. From the annexed engraving it will be seen that there are two small loops upon it. These slide on the bracelet in such a way as to adjust it to wrists of different thickness. Its size consequently varies, but it may be taken as $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$. Capt. Aitken also has three or four of the coins in his possession, but though in good preservation they are of ordinary types. A fifth bracelet, one-tenth of an inch thick, was formed of a single silver wire, "fashioned so as to resemble the one made of two twisted cords." This is, I believe, now owned by Mr. Harold Porritt, of Helmshore, who, however, appears reluctant to have it engraved. There were also two fragments of another bracelet, about a quarter of an inch in diameter, formed of thick silver wire, twisted round a bar of bronze, and three plain silver finger rings, one being set with a red stone. The last named is in Mr. Porritt's possession, and one of the other rings (much worn) is now owned by Mr. John Duckworth, of Sheep Hey, near Ramsbottom, who also informs me that he has a few of the coins.



Long diameter, $2\frac{1}{4}$in. Short diameter, 2in.



The "find" further included several pieces of broken silver rings, "like wedding or ear rings in form;" some pieces of a thin bronze bracelet; a small bronze hinge; the blade or bowl of a bronze spoon, "elegantly shaped," rather more than an inch and a half in length by a little over half an inch in breadth, and "an amulet of amber, richly streaked with orange-coloured veins, and pierced so as to be suspended alone." It was heart-shaped, and measured less than an inch in its longest diameter. None of these articles can at present be traced.

With regard to Walmersley, Dr. Aikin,* after describing the "Castle Croft" at Bury, mentions a second intrenchment thus:—

The other, viz., Castle Steads, in Walmesley, placed in a bend of the Irwell is said to have been only an intrenchment of the Parliament's army, when Bury was besieged, and its castle battered by cannon planted at the head of a wood in Walmesley. Nothing remains of these works but the name of the close, the tenant occupying it having levelled the trenches.

From the plan of this entrenchment given by Dr. Aikin, taken before its destruction, it seems suspiciously like a Roman camp. It was a square of 120 yards, placed upon a *lingula*, washed on the north, west, and south by the river Irwell. The ramparts on the north and east sides, with the north-eastern and south-eastern angles, seem to have remained till the last; and what appears to be a road is marked as running westwards from the north-western angle towards the river.

Roman coins have been found, also, at Ainsworth, or "Cockey Moor," about three miles E.N.E. of Bolton, closely adjoining the direct Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester, but of what period of the empire cannot now be ascertained.†

In addition to the hoards, a few isolated discoveries of coins may be recorded, as being useful in proving Roman occupation near the places where they were found.

In 1829, in digging in ground adjoining the cotton mill at Ashton-in-Makerfield, there was found a second-brass coin of Trajan. *Rev.*: "TR. POT. COS. II. S.C. Seated figure of *Abundantia*." Two years previously, in digging the foundations of this factory, two horse-shoes, apparently Roman, were found at a depth of ten feet.‡ There were six nail holes in each shoe, and some of the nails remained. Both the coin and horse-shoes were in good condition, and are now preserved by the Earl of Derby, at Knowsley.

In July, 1820, a brass coin of Vespasian was found near Wood Plumpton Church, adjoining the road from Ribchester to Kirkham. All that is said of the reverse is, that it bore "a figure, with the letters s . c."§

At Broughton-in-Furness, a coin of Maximus was found, about 1785.‖ One of Hadrian has since been found, but no records of the reverses of either have been preserved.

* *Description of the Country round Manchester* (1795), p. 269.
† Lewis's *Topog. Dict. of England*, article, "Ainsworth." ‡ Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire*, vol. iii., p. 577.
§ *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. iii., p. 62; Hardwick's *History of Preston*, p. 49.
‖ Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire* (1836), vol. iv., p. 717.

"A copper coin of Antoninus Pius was found in the lower part of the town (of Ulverston), and another, inscribed —OBVS, for the emperor Probus, was discovered beyond the town mill."*

In 1851, a third-brass coin of Marius (A.D. 267) was found in Back Irlam Street, Warrington, and is now preserved in the Warrington Museum. *Rev.:* "VICTORIA . AVG. Victory marching to right."

A first-brass of Vespasian, reverse illegible, was picked up at Weeton, in the Fylde, by a labourer in 1853, near the Roman road.†

At Formby there was found, in the year 1867, in a hedge bank, a third-brass coin of the VRBS ROMA. type—Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf; above, two stars; letters in exergue obliterated. *Obv.* (as usual), galeated head of Rome. At the same place, and in the same year, a consular *denarius* of the *Sergia* family was found. *Obv.:* "Winged head of Minerva; in front, EX . S . C.; behind, ROMA . X. *Rev.:* M . SERGI . SILVS.; a horseman galloping to the left, holding in his left hand a sword and a human head. In the field, Q."‡

In 1867, also, a first-brass of Antoninus Pius, with the reverse illegible, was found in Parliament Fields, Liverpool. It had probably been accidentally lost there in recent times.§

Had all these hoards been examined when entire, and reported upon, they would have yielded us a little more information regarding the state of the county in the Roman period. As it is, we can learn something. The coins of latest date in each hoard may be considered as approximately marking the time when they were deposited in the ground. In the list before us, for instance, the hoards marked Nos. 8 and 16 appear to have been hidden about the period of the insurrection in the reign of Commodus. Nos. 6, 13, 18, and 20 seem to have been hidden about the time of Gallus and Volusianus, A.D. 252, or possibly a little later, in the disturbed reign of Gallienus. The usurpation of Carausius, and the unsettled state of Britain, at the time of its invasion and re-union to the Roman empire by Constantius Chlorus, seem indicated by hoards Nos. 11, 15, 17, and 21. We find hoards similarly composed and concealed at the same dates all over Britain; and it is evident that Lancashire felt the ebbing and flowing of Roman power quite as strongly as the remainder of the kingdom.

* Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire* (1836), vol. iv., p. 686.

† *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. vi., p. 108. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. xx., p. 90. § *Ibid.*, p. 89,

With the description of these hoards of coins, the list of Roman remains discovered in the county is concluded. Though not so rich in inscribed altars, tablets, and tombstones as the neighbourhood of the Northumbrian Wall, nor possessing any of the beautiful tesselated pavements so common in the southern portion of the kingdom, still in objects of art composed of the more precious metals, and bronze, Lancashire may bear comparison with most English counties. The gold *bullae* at Manchester and Overborough, the gold rings and gems at Standish and Ribchester, the gold cup at the latter place, and the silver cup at Emmott, the rich "find" of silver articles at "Throstle Hill," the silver arm at Littleborough, the beautiful bronze helmet and the *patellae*, colander, &c., at Ribchester, the colander at Risley, and the bronze *umbo* of a shield at Kirkham, would, if they could be brought together, form a collection which could not be excelled by any other county in the kingdom. But, unfortunately, they are dispersed, and most of them lost. Yet it is certain that many similar antiquities, besides altars, &c., are still buried beneath the soil. What is wanted is a series of systematic excavations, especially at Lancaster and Ribchester, and an intelligent appreciation of the extreme value (in an archæological point of view) of the articles found. Though deferred for a short time, such excavations will, I believe, be made, and, judging by the growing interest taken in archæology, be productive of the happiest results.

And what is the lesson we learn from the study of the various objects brought together in this work—this mass of evidence concerning a past civilisation, which has for ever departed, though its effects remain amongst us? As the Roman military occupation of Lancashire preceded the civil one, let us first observe its development. One legion only, the Twentieth (and its auxiliaries), has left traces of this earliest conquest. By it we find that the fortresses at Ribchester and Manchester were built, and when its work was done, with the true instinct of conquerors, the possibility of revolt was guarded against. Whilst regiments of native Britons were raised for the Roman service, care was taken that they should not serve within sight of their fellow-countrymen, and they were accordingly sent to various Continental countries, whilst Continental troops were brought over to Britain to garrison the fortresses. And when they arrived here, no two adjoining stations had a garrison composed of troops of the same nationality. So we find Manchester first garrisoned by a regiment of Dutch infantry, (succeeded by a similar

regiment of Portuguese,) whilst Ribchester had a regiment of Polish lancers, and at some other time a Spanish cavalry regiment. All that we know of Lancaster, shews that its garrison was French cavalry, aided by a corps of marines *(Numerus Barcariorum.)* By means of the difference of language, therefore, the co-operation of one garrison with another against their masters was prevented.

Of the Sixth Legion, which appeared late upon the scene, we find merely the names of three of its officers, all apparently centurions, in command of auxiliaries.

In the wake of the armies, the road-makers at once began their useful task. How many of the original inhabitants of Lancashire have toiled in the formation of the massive roadway on Blackstone Edge, or the huge agger of the road at Weeton! But it was by these agencies that civilisation proceeded, and the milestones found, of such varying dates (from A.D. 120 to 251), show that the roads were kept in good repair, and that the pedestrian or horseman might know the exact distance he had to traverse before he reached his goal. The *botontini* teach us the power the civil law had acquired, when the boundaries of property were regularly defined.

A change also came over the religion of the country. Instead of the rude British idols, the inhabitants gradually adopted the gods of their conquerors, though the altars found mostly bear dedications by military men. We have met with inscriptions to Mars, Apollo, Fortune, Victory, the goddess mothers, and the "divinity of the Emperor." But as the Romans found other deities worshipped here, from policy some of these were adopted into their Pantheon, as if they were identical with the classic gods, the difference being only in name. Accordingly, they occasionally gave both the Roman and British name of the god on the same altar, *e.g.*, Mars Cocidius and Apollo Maponus. To these we must add the topical deity Jalonus. Of the abandonment of the ancient deities, either for Mithraism or Christianity, we find no trace. On the Northumbrian wall dedications to Mithras are frequent, as are also dedications "to the ancient gods." In Lancashire nothing of a Mithraic nature has been discovered. Of the progress of Christianity the same must be said; but this is simply what might be expected, unless Christian tombstones may at some future time be exhumed. No altar, inscribed or plain, was necessary for the Christian, and the only public inscriptions likely to occur, bearing date after the reign of Constantine the Great, would be milestones.

We have seen the evidence of the existence of handsome buildings in all of the stations. Lancaster has given us an inscription recording the restoration of a public bath, and a *basilica* or hall of justice. At Ribchester, at least two temples have been partially laid bare; one of them is mentioned in an inscription. Overborough had its College of Apollo. All these things prove that the maintenance of law and order had been thoroughly engrafted into the mind of the Britanno-Roman population.

The brooches, rings, gems, &c., tell us that some of the inhabitants lived in luxury, which is confirmed by the number of silver coins found in hoards. Of the daily life of the population we have traces in the quantity of pottery everywhere exhumed—from the huge *amphorae* (or wine jars) to the *paterae*, used for eating and drinking; the quern for grinding corn, and the *mortarium* for mashing it or other food; the handsome "Samian" ware bowls, and the pewter plates or dishes; the elegant colanders, and the neatly-adjusted steelyards, &c.

And when these old fathers of our insular civilisation met the "last enemy," we have proofs that there were not wanting loving hearts and hands to perform the final offices of humanity to their dead. Though, unlike the northern counties, we have a paucity of tombstones, still one of those at Ribchester speaks of an "incomparable wife" and "a mother-in-law of very dear memory;" whilst at Overborough we find a wife apparently rejoicing that her deceased husband was now enjoying "perpetual security" from the toils of war. We, however, find only traces of urn burial after cremation. There are none of the massive sarcophagi which have been found at some stations.

But the end of Roman civilisation came. When Constantine embraced Christianity he struck a death blow at his own empire. Enervated with luxury, wearied with the lust of conquest, Rome never again (unless for a short time under the apostate Julian) assumed the aggressive. Efforts for self-defence, though for a time successful, gradually became weaker and weaker. Men's minds were awakened to the fact, that the iron grasp was, through sheer weariness, being relaxed. The "stone cut without hands" had smitten the image, and thus an empire, great in its heathendom, fell to pieces beneath the glare of the rising light of Christianity. Britain, as we have seen, was one of the first to assert her independence, and the whole Continent quickly imitated the defection. Wave upon wave of Gothic

invasion, assisted by internal dissensions, at last brought about the final catastrophe, and left the "Eternal City" ruined and in loneliness, grand in her desolation, amidst the shadows of dissolved empire, and of a departed dominion of the world.

Rome Imperial! Rome majestic!
Shades of greatness, vanished all:
Looking down the abyss of ages
To behold thy rise and fall,
We can trace upon thy forehead,
Queen and wonder of thy day,
Broadly marked, the awful sentence—
Pass away.

Great, but wicked: fair, but cruel:
Sceptred mischief, worshipped long.
Never yet did men or nations
Prosper finally in wrong!
Justice did her work upon thee:
Mightier than thine her sway;
'Twas her voice pronounced thy judgment—
Pass away.

(Charles Mackay.)

APPENDIX.

Additions and Corrections.

Page 11, line 4.—For *Bremetonacae* read *Bremetonacum*.

Pages 27 and 30.—I have inadvertently given the old reading, *Glanoventa*, instead of *Clanoventa*. This, however, does not affect the reading, *Glanoventa*, on p. 34, by Dr. Hooppell and Mr. Longstaffe, or on p. 36 by Mr. Gordon M. Hills.

Page 72.—"Tanteston Hall" should be "Tanterton Hall."

Page 81.—Some slight excavations have been made at the earthwork at "Borrens Barn," which is circular, and about 200 paces in its exterior circumference, but without any decided result. The exterior rampart is composed of loose stones and gravel. A faint trace of pavement was found at what is conjectured to have been the entrance. An inhabitant of the neighbourhood, however, states that a few years ago in cleansing out a ditch in a field near Wrayton (also called "Borrens"), he found a quantity of very fine hewn stones, which seemed to be part of the ruins of a building. The adjoining field is named "Castle Hill," and it still contains traces of an old structure, which, from superficial examination, does not seem Roman; but excavations may shortly settle the point. The course of the Roman road in this locality has not yet been satisfactorily traced.

Page 83.—I have stated that the milestone bearing the name of Decius was found on the Castle Hill, Lancaster. This is erroneous. It was found near the spot where that bearing the name of Philip was discovered.

Page 85.—Mr. James Stonehouse says of the Roman road in Furness,* that remains of it—

were first discovered in March, 1774, near Mountbarrow House, and under Bardsea Park wall another portion of it was found. In 1813, an ancient road, paved with large stones, was met with at the head of Goldmire. It would seem, therefore, that the Romans entered Furness by Conishead,

* *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Cheshire*, vol. viii., p. 228.

whence their road proceeded to Thornwest, through Streetgate, to the place where it joins the new turnpike road to Ulverstone. Hence its direction is by Lindell to Dalton. At the cross at Dalton it turns up Scalegate to Duddon Sands.

Page 85.—For "Rev. J. West," read "Rev. T. West."

Page 87.—As it is impossible, from the smallness of the scale, to give accurately the windings of the road called "Reddyshore Scout Gate" on the map, I have marked it simply as a road connecting Littleborough with Todmorden direct.

Page 90.—The Rev. R. E. Hooppell, LL.D., informs me that in addition to the road known as "Dane's Pad," another similar road runs more to the southward (though starting from nearly the same point) in the direction of St. Michael's. He says that at the point where he saw it—

> at the back of the Bull Foot Farmhouse, the peat had been cut away for a very considerable distance. This, of course, has included the road which has been cut away with it. Along the western side of the field, the still-untouched peat rises up like a wall, and at the bottom of this wall, at a certain point in it on a level with the field, the section of the road is distinctly visible. [He further states the road was about six feet wide.] Whole trunks of trees were laid down, end to end, in two parallel lines, a few feet apart. Upon these were laid transverse slabs, about six feet in length, side by side. Over this road, no doubt vehicles could travel.

It was at an average depth of four feet beneath the peat. Dr. Hooppell is the first writer who has noticed a second road of this nature. The natives of the district seem to know of only one, and neither Col. Fishwick, in his *History of Garstang*, nor Mr. Porter, in his *History of the Fylde*, allude to any but the smaller one. As before said, it is very doubtful if these wooden roads were Roman. A fragment of one was detected at Cambridge a few years since.

Page 90.—In old maps, a road, which may have been Roman, is marked as running from the neighbourhood of Manchester, through Urmston, Flixton, and Irlam, where there was a ford. It probably bore for Warrington.

Page 99.—For "*Frisavonum*" read "*Frisiavonum.*"

Page 135.—A fragment of a tombstone, naming a decurion of the second *ala* of the Astures, has just (1882) been found at Lincoln.

Page 137.—"Mars Pacifer" may also be rendered as "Mars, the peacemaker."

Page 143, last line.—For "*Cas(trorum) (Frat)ris Sept(imii)* . . " read "*Cas(trorum)* . . . . . *(Frat)ris Sept(imii).*" The error is a typographical one.

Page 150.—The first account of the discovery of the helmet and other articles appears to have been given in the *Blackburn Mail* for August 3rd, 1796, but very erroneously.

Page 151.—A somewhat similar bronze disc, with bust of Minerva, was found at Abbey Milton, Dorsetshire.*

Page 153.—The engraving of the helmet not being very effective (though through no fault of the engraver), I have since had it executed in profile on a larger scale—about one-half the original size.

Page 160.—The *singulares* (or *singularii)* appear to have been a body-guard, first instituted by Augustus.

Page 197.—Rauthmel states (pp. 101-2) that the *patera*, which was of "pot-metal," was found in the area of the fortress, and the *praefericulum* (of what material is not said) was found in digging the cellar of the mansion.

Page 201.—I find that I have omitted to give the lettering on the reverse of the coin, which is CLEMENTIA . IMP . GERMAN., and refers to the clemency of the emperor after he had subdued the Germans in A.D. 69.

Page 211.—An article, describing these two small stations, appears in the *Liverpool Compass*, August 1, 1863.

Page 226.—There is a mound, now much reduced, at Quarlton, about a mile east of Turton, and half a mile east of the Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester, which appears to have been a *botontinus*.

Page 243.—Mr. C. Hardwick, in his recently-published *Ancient Battlefields in Lancashire*, pp. 154-8, completely refutes the statement that any siege of Bury Castle took place in 1644, or that Castle Stead was an entrenchment, raised by Cromwell's army. This increases the probability that the earthwork was Roman.

* Vol. xii., *Journal British Archæological Association*, p. 258.

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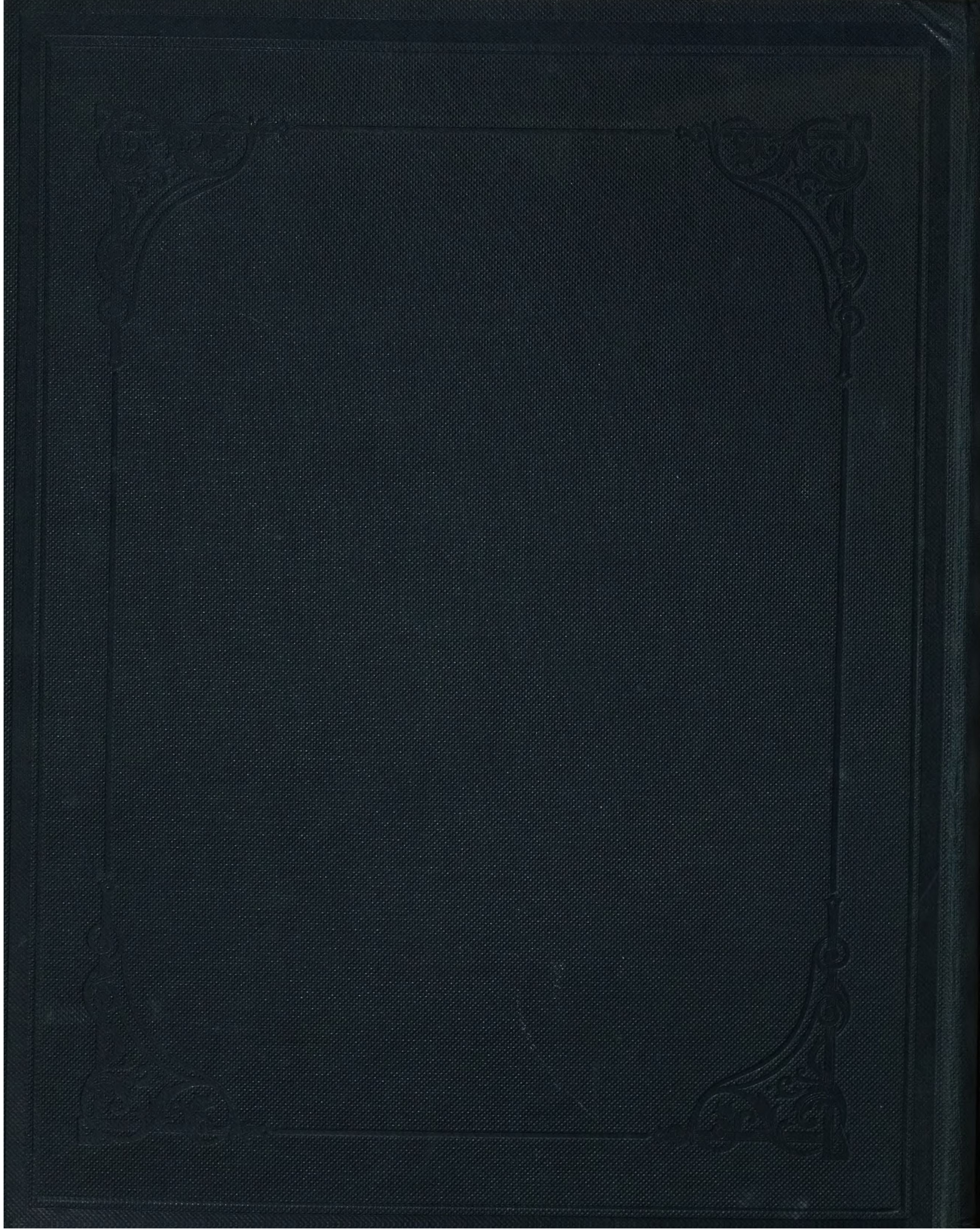
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